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TRIBAL COINS-A STUDY

(The Yaudheyas, the Mālavas, the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas)

By

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ओंकारनगरस्थं तं निगमान्तवनश्वरम् ।
नित्यं एकं शिवं शान्तं वन्दे गुरुं उमासुतम् ।।

'Adorations unto Guha (Lord Subrahmaṇya)
Who abides in the city of Praṇava,
Who is the lord of the forest called Vedānta,
Who is eternal, who is without a second,
Who is auspiciousness,
Who is peaceful, and who is the son of Umā.'

To

My Father

Shri Siabar Sharan

FOREWORD

It is my privilege to write this Foreword to *Tribal Coins—A Study* written by Dr. M. K. Sharan. There was hitherto no full, systematic and elaborate account of the various interesting phases of the coinages of the tribal republican states, though some previous scholars had shed light on particular aspects of their history and coinage. But these works were comparatively few in number, and I am glad that it is one of my former students (now colleague in the Department) who has striven to remove this long-felt want by attempting a technical and historical study of these coinages in all their details, such as classification, study of symbols, scripts, etc.

When the author came to me, after taking his M.A. degree, for a suggestion about the topic of his research, I told him to take up the scientific study of the political and cultural aspects of the coins of the ancient republican tribes. It is really gratifying to me that he accepted my suggestion, and devoted himself wholeheartedly to the pursuit of this subject. He worked ceaselessly with a great deal of earnestness and I had the privilege of seeing him at his work from time to time. His efforts, I am glad to say, have been crowned with success. He has been critical and scientific in his approach to the various problems connected with his work, although it may not be possible, as in many other fields relating to the early history of India, to expect finality in all the questions raised by him especially when the evidence at our disposal is meagre and often conflicting. I have no doubt that his painstaking and scholarly work will receive due appreciation from the learned historians and Indologists of India and abroad.

University of Magadh
Bodh-Gaya
12th October, 1972

(Upendra Thakur)
Professor and Head
Department of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies

PREFACE

There have been a few works on the history and coinage of tribal states of ancient India. No serious attempt has so far been made to study the various interesting aspects of the cultural history of the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas, the Audumbaras and the Kuniṇdas—the four renowned tribal republican states of the Punjab and adjoining tracts. The present work, for the first time, presents a comprehensive picture of these tribal republican states who played a very prominent role in the early history of India.

Basing predominantly on numismatic sources, I endeavoured to fill this gap by shedding a fresh light on some of the obscure problems of the history of the four tribes. I have put my sincere efforts to write a political and cultural account of these tribal states objectively and judiciously from all possible authentic sources.

In Chapter I, I have attempted to portray coins in general besides giving a graphic account of the early Indian coinage and their importance in the study of contemporary political and cultural history. The Indo-Bactrian, the Indo-Greek, the Kuṣāṇa and the coinage of the tribal republics of the contemporary Punjab and adjoining regions have also been dealt with in this chapter. The important role played by ancient coins in reconstruction of the history of the period (especially where other sources fail to throw light) cannot be over-emphasised, yet coins have limitations. If inferences are not drawn carefully from ancient coins they are likely to misguide and lead us to wrong conclusions and, therefore, it has been my objective to draw attention to the scope and limitations of coins as a source of historical material. Palaeography and metallurgy have also been discussed in this chapter.

Chapters II, III, IV and V deal with the origin, growth, form of government, extent of territory, coinage and socio-economic life as gleaned from the coins in respect of these tribes. In chapter II (the Mālavas) a detailed description has been given of the two historically important additional events, namely—the

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encounter of the Mālavas with the army of Alexander and the Mālava era.

Another feature of the book is that a general survey of the republics under review has been presented to trace the origin of the Gaṇas (Republics) in India. Considering all this, I hope that this book will be found useful by its readers.

Bodh-Gaya M. K. Sharan
5th November, 1972

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In the first place, I express my sincerest gratitude and respects to my Guru, Dr. Upendra Thakur, M.A., D. Phil. (Cal.), University Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya, without whose constant assistance, guidance and encouragement, this work would not have been possible. Moreover, he has laid me under deep obligation by contributing Foreword to this volume.

I am indebted to late Dr. Raj Bali Pandey, Vice-Chancellor, University of Jabalpur and to Dr. D.C. Sircar, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta for their proffered advice and information.

My thanks are also due to the great scholars in this field from whose works I have been benefited much in the course of my present investigation. I am grateful to Shri Rajeshwar Jha and other members of the staff of the Bihar Research Society, Patna; the National Library, Calcutta; the Manulal Library, Gaya; the Manulal Magadh University Library, Bodh-Gaya; the Patna Museum; the Indian Museum, Calcutta and the National Museum, New Delhi for the generous help that I received from them.

To Dr. B.N. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D.,D.Litt., F.I.A.S. of the National Museum, Delhi, I owe a deep debt of gratitude for extending to me his guidance and co-operation in the final stage of publication of this work. I should like to acknowledge the sympathetic help and encouragement I have received from Dr. M.C.P. Shrivastava of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University especially for the preparation of coin-plates and to Shri Rameshwar Upadhyaya of the Department of Geography, Magadh University, who very kindly made coin-symbols. Shri Shakti Malik, Proprietor, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, took special interest in the publication of this work and for this I express my indebted-

ness to him. I am thankful to Shri S.K. Ghosh of Bharati Studio, Gaya for accepting the laborious job of preparing the coin-plates. I am also grateful to Shri T.R. Aggarwal of New Delhi for providing a few useful guidelines.

And in the end, for their affectionate encouragement which is beyond appraisal, I must express my gratitude to my father, Shri Siabar Sharan, and to my eldest brother, Naib Subedar Awadhesh Kumar Sharan, M.A., Dip. in Ed., of the Army Educational Corps. My thanks are also due to my wife Smt. Nirmala Sharan who prepared the press copy of the manuscript and to Shri R.K. Sharan who has very laboriously prepared the Index of the book.

TRANSLITERATION CHART

a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	o
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए	ओ

ai	au
ऐ	औ

ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ
cha	chha	ja	jha	na
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa
ट	ठ	ड	ढ़	ण
ta	tha	da	dha	na
त	थ	द	ध	न
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma
प	फ	ब	भ	म

ya	ra	la	va	śa	ṣa	sa	ha
य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह

The following are the main points in the scheme of transliteration followed in this work :—

ṛ or ṛi=ऋ   ṅ or ṁ= ÷   ḥ = ।:

ś or sh=श

Abbreviations used in the descriptions of coins :—

AR=Silver   AE=Copper   l.=left r.=right

Obv.=Obverse   Rev.=Reverse

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
AGI	*Ancient Geography of India.*
AHI	*Advanced History of India.*
AI	*Ancient India.*
AIN	*Ancient Indian Numismatics.*
AIU	*Age of Imperial Unity.*
AS	*Arthaśāstra.*
ASIAR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
Ath veda	*Atharvaveda.*
BI	*Buddhist India.*
BMCAI	*British Museum Catalogue of Ancient India.*
BMCGSKI	*British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria & India.*
BORI	*Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
Br	*Brāhmī.*
CAI	*Coins of Ancient India.*
CCIM	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum.*
CCGD	*Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty.*
CHI	*Cambridge History of India Vol-I.*
CHIS	*Comprehensive History of India Vol-II.*
CICAD	*Catalogue of Indian Coins of the Andhra Dynasty.*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
CL	*Carmichael Lectures.*
DHI	*Development of Hindu Iconography.*
Ed	*Edition or Edited.*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
f or ff	*Followed.*
fn	*Foot-note.*
GAP	*Glimpses of Ancient Punjab.*
HIIA	*History of Indian & Indonesian Art.*
HP	*Hindu Polity.*
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*

IC	*Indian Coins.*
IE	*Indian Epigraphy.*
IG	*Indo-Greeks.*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
IIA	*Invasion of India by Alexander.*
Indian Arch	*Indian Archaeology.*
Ind Cul	*Indian Culture.*
INC	*Indian Numismatic Chronicle.*
INO-ACMC	*International Numismata Orientalia-Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon.*
Jāt	*Jātaka.*
JA	*Journal Asiatique.*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBBRS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JISOA	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts.*
JIH	*Journal of the Indian History.*
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
JPASB	*Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JPRAS	*Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
JUPHS	*Journal of the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) Historical Society.*
Kh	*Kharoṣṭhī.*
Manu	*Manusmṛti.*
Mbh	*Mahābhārata.*
NC/N Chr	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NNM/NSI	*Numismatic Notes and Monographs of the Numismatic Society of India.*
NS	*New Series or Numismatic Supplement.*
Num Supp	*Numismatic Supplement.*
OH	*Our Heritage.*
p or pp	*Pages.*
PHAI	*Political History of Ancient India.*
Pl	*Plate or Plates.*
PMC	*Punjab Museum Catalogue.*

PSMAP	*Political & Social Movements in Ancient Punjab.*
Pt	*Part or Parts.*
SI	*Select Inscriptions* *or* *South India.*
SCCIM	*Supplementary Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.*
SOAS	*Seminar on the date of Kaniṣka held in the School of Oriental and African Studies April, 1960.*
VP	*Viṣṇupurāṇa.*
Yaśa	*Yaśastilaka.*

LIST OF PLATES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

1. Map showing the territorial extent of the Yaudheyas 87
2. Some of the coins of the Yaudheyas (Plate) 128a
3. Illustration showing the technique of casting coins by the Yaudheyas 131
4. The Chauragarh (M.P.) Tridents 138a
5. Map showing the territorial extent of the Mālavas 175
6. Some of the coins of the Mālavas (Plate) 204a
7. Map showing the territorial extent of the Audumbaras 228
8. Some of the coins of the Audumbaras (Plate) 256a
9. Map showing the territorial extent of the Kuṇindas 276
10. Some of the coins of the Kuṇindas (Plate) 301a

Contents

Pages

Invocation 3
Dedication 4
Foreword 5
Preface 6
Acknowledgements 8
Transliteration Chart 10
List of Abbreviations 11
List of Plates and Illustrations 14
Introduction 17-18

CHAPTER 1

History of coinage in early India 19-64

A general survey, P. 19; Coinage : Their importance in the study of political and cultural history of ancient India, P. 29; The Indo-Bactrian and the Indo-Greek Coins, P. 31; The Kuṣāṇa coins, P. 37; The coins of the tribal republics of the Punjab and adjoining regions, P. 42; Numismatics: Scope and limitations, 49; Knowledge of contemporary history, 49; Palaeography of the coins, P. 53; Metallurgy, P. 58.

CHAPTER 2

The Yaudheyas 65-147

Origin and growth, P. 65; Form of government, P. 79; Extent of territory, P. 86; Coinage, P. 91; A general classification, P. 99; Provenance and technique of manufacture, P. 128; Types and Symbols, P. 133; Palaeography of coin-legends, P. 143; Socio-economic life of the tribe as gleaned from their coinage, P. 145.

CHAPTER 3

The Mālavas 148-214

Origin and growth, P. 148; Alexander and the Mālavas, P. 155; The Mālava era, P. 161; Form of government, P. 170; Extent of territory, P. 176; Coinage, P. 181; A general classification, P. 185; Provenance and technique of manufacture, P. 205; Types and Symbols, P. 206; Palaeography of coin-legends, P. 208; Socio-economic life of the tribe as gleaned from their coinage, P. 211.

CHAPTER 4

The Audumbaras 215-271

Origin and growth, P. 215; Form of government, P. 222; Extent of territory, P. 227; Coinage, P. 235; A general classification, P. 244; Provenance and technique of manufacture, P. 255; Types and symbols, P. 256; Palaeography of coin-legends, P. 263; Socio-economic life of the tribe as gleaned from their coinage, P. 267.

CHAPTER 5

The Kuṇindas 272-313

Origin and growth, P. 272; Form of government, P. 275; Extent of territory, P. 277; Coinage, P. 282; A general classification, P. 286; Provenance and technique of manufacture, P. 302; Types and symbols, P. 303; Palaeography of coin-legends, P. 310; Socio-economic life of the tribe as gleaned from their coinage, P. 312.

CONCLUSION 314-317

A general survey of the republics under review, P. 314.

Select Bibliography and List of Journals 318-330

Index 331-358

INTRODUCTION

"Metal, when used to facilitate exchange of goods, is a currency; currency, when used according to specific weight standards, is money; money stamped with a device is a coin. Metal intrinsically valuable, weight deliberately adjusted, the mark of device of a responsible authority—all the three are needed to make a coin. Mankind first learnt to value, next to weigh and last of all to stamp metal; or in other words, evolved from barter to metallic currency, abandoned mere currency for money and then mere money for coinage."[1]

The common definition of a coin is a piece of precious metal stamped in a manner indicating that the coin has been issued by some authority. The word, coin, is a derivative from the French word '*Coigner*' which means striking with a wedge or Cogne.

"Previous to the invention of coinage, practically all movable goods, sometimes even immovable property like the carved rocks (feis) on the island *Yap*, were used as means of exchange."[2]

Of all antiquities that seem to be imperishable, coins are the most prominent, since they bring to our own age the Culture and Customs of the forgotten generations when they were in current usage. As far as we are aware, the first coins were struck by the *Lydians* in Asia Minor about 2700 years ago. They later appeared in Greece, Rome and China. They had an independent origin in India but some time during the 2nd century B.C., they became subject to Greek influence.

The earliest coins bore simple figures, like those of a broken plate, the face of a lion, a turtle etc., and by the passage of time, royal markings became the feature. Gods and Goddesses later made their appearance on them. Whereas in the early stages coins enjoyed only local circulation, later their use extended further afield, as a result of which it became necessary to

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1. Seltman, C. Greek Coins, p-1.
2. Palye, M. Coinage, The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol-III-IV p-622.

include on the coins the name of the issuing authority. This was done either in full or in abbreviated form. It became a general custom in the advanced age of minting, to issue coins which on obverse bore the bust of the emperor or empress and on the reverse, the year of minting.

Tipu Sultan of Mysore used portraits of Śiva and Pāravatī struck at Srirangpatanam. Romans also used the portraits of their Gods and Goddesses to depict the qualities of Mercy, Equality, Patience etc. Christianity was represented on some of them through the image of Christ, Virgin Mary, the Holy Cross and the portraits of Christian Saints. Mosques were a common feature on the coins of the Nizams of Hyderabad.

Thus we see the universality and manifold importance and also the varieties of markings on coins in general. Such value is attached to coins that in some countries of the West, they can be insured like any other article of value. An indication of the exact extent of the important part that it has got in the exploration of the ancient history can be had with the knowledge of the fact that the British Museum, London published 29 volumes on the Greek coins alone.

It is not very clearly known, who in India started the minting of coins first, the administrative heads (the rulers) or the trade-guilds, but it is sure to have taken birth after the barter-system might have been felt to be disadvantageous for the increasing trade and commerce.

Though numerous exact dates of historical events and also very many historical facts even today are based on the guess-work, conjectures, and suppositions of the historians, an attempt has been made in this work to explore the condition of Ancient India during the time of the Tribal Republics of the *Mālavas*, the *Yaudheyas*, the *Audumbaras*, and the *Kuṇindas* based upon their coins available to us. All efforts have been made to make it more authentic with the help of other evidences like literary works etc., so that it may become a compact impartial document executed after a thorough research and contemplation, in a judicial spirit.

History of coinage in early India

1

A GENERAL SURVEY

Numismatics is the science which deals with coinages. It has added new dimensions to our knowledge about the past and has helped us in reconstructing our historical records.

Hindus, by nature, were abhorrent of keeping any record of their good deeds which they considered to be self-praise. Religious-minded as they were, they did not usually like to leave behind themselves any such record of their praise. The scanty records, kept by some of them, had also been lost by the vicissitudes of time. We have to depend, to a great extent, upon the contemporaneous works of Panegyrics available to us and upon the records of foreign visitors who came to this land in the days of yore.

But there are certain indistinct periods of our history during which neither any account of a foreign visitor is available nor any encomium-report is traceable. We, therefore, have to grope in the dark and it is here, that numismatics comes to our help. This numismatics is in no way less important than epigraphy in the exploration of our ancient history. We come across different types of coinage having been explained in special treatises which have produced much effective records of history. Thus, old coins are valuable historical documents, on the basis of which it has been possible for us to come to a stage when our findings can be relied upon. They tell us not only about political, social and economic conditions but also about our prevailing culture.

In the human civilisation, the evolution of coinage was one of the most important revolutions of its type which changed the face of the economic world 'though it was a slow and long process'.[1] This evolution took place after different interesting phases of human civilisation.

In the primitive hunting stage, no trace of coinage whatsoever is to be found. After this stage, came the pastoral stage, during which animals were domesticated and were used as units of value. According to the hymns of the *Ṛg Veda*,[2] *Indra* is considered to be so invaluable that not a hundred, a thousand, or even a myriad of cows is thought to be a proper price for him.

Then came the agricultural stage in which people began to use agricultural products, particularly the staple corn as currency. So we find that this was the birth of commerce in this stage. According to *Atharva Veda* articles like garments, coverlets and even goat-skins were exchanged for other necessities of life.[3] We find that the first mineral products i.e. Cowries are mentioned first as ornaments, and afterwards as means of currency. On the basis of *Saṁhitā* portion of the Vedas, scholars opine that these different kinds of media of exchange were prevalent during the Vedic age. The *Ṛg Veda*, which is the oldest of the Vedas, evidently records the prevalence of such system at that time. Of course, there had been many changes in its evolution at different stages of progress in civilisation. It is therefore clear that prior to the Vedic age this system of exchange was in existence. In the Vedic age, which is supposed to be the highest degree of civilisation, metals were replaced for this kind of transaction.

Upendra Thakur asserts the same view in his following words :—[4]

> "The method of exchange of the primitive men was virtually confined to barter, which most probably arose from the practice of 'mutual propitiation of gifts' and gradually the idea that 'the present received should be of like-worth with that given' was established; and exchanged articles in course of time lost the character of presents ......This system is to be seen in India as late as the Dharmasūtras, the Pali Canons, Gautama and Vaśiṣṭha."

---

1. Thakur, U. JNSI, Vol-XXIII, p-175, INC, Vol-III Pt-I, p-68.
2. Ṛg Veda, VIII, 1.5.
3. Atharva Veda, IV, 7.6.
4. Thakur, U. Op. cit., p-175.

From the Vedic literature it appears that horses took the place of cows and these horses were suited better to the military class.[1] This fact is verified by the study of the *Mahābhārata*[2] also, where a teacher's fee is mentioned as 800 horses of the best breed. We find in the *Jātakas*[3] that slaves and food-grains were the prevailing media of exchange. *Pāṇini* has also mentioned *Kaṁsa*, *Surpa* and *Khārī* (i.e. grains of these measures) as the measures of definite value.[4] Besides these, he speaks of the coins (Gopuchchha)[5] and pieces of cloth (*Vasana*) as the means of transaction.

About the beginning of the Vedic period, which is supposed to be 2500 B.C., the employment of metals as money-material was known to Indians. And with all probability gold was the most prominent metal at that time because its reference is found in abundance at that period in Vedic literature. We see that in the first stage of its introduction in society, metals were weighed in scales and given for the purchase of commodities. Of course, different weights were used for different metals. Gold must have been a precious metal then, as it is now; and silver and copper must have been of less value. So different standards were used for Gold, Silver and Copper and these standards were based on the weight unit of *Guṁja-berry* which was also called *Raktikā* and *Kṛṣṇala* which is estimated to be approximately 1.8 Grains.[6] Even in the *Saṁhitā* period, we find in the *Taittiriya* and other *Saṁhitās* that the word *Kṛṣṇala* was known to the people. It is universally accepted by the historians that the metals worked into ornaments, later became the units of exchange.[7]

4354. There are two types of metal coins found in the *Ṛg-Vedic* period. One is Hiraṇya-Piṇḍa or Buttons of gold which was not a regular coin but was unstamped bullion and the other was *Niṣka* which was actually gold coin, a coin-denomination also. But no such mention of coinage is found before the Āryans settled in India.

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[1] Pāṇini, II, 37 ff.

[2] Mbh. III, 1959., 106-11.

[3] Jāt. (Fausball Ed) I, 124 ff.

[4] Pāṇini, Op. cit.

[5] Ibid., JNSI-XII, p-190.

[6] Bhandarkar, D.R. CL, 1921, pp-178-79; Thakur, U. Op. cit., p-176.

[7] Thakur, U. Op. cit., p-176.

In the *Taittiriya Saṁhitā* of the Vedic literature, *Śatamāna* is the denomination for coinage, and it is so in the *Śatapatha Brahamaṇa* also. In the latter Brāhamaṇa the gold Śatamāna was of *Vṛtta* or round shape. *Kṛṣṇala* was the other name of the same coin of the lowest denomination. And thus it is clear that 5 denominations of coins were known in the Vedic period. All were of gold. They were—*Niṣka Śatamāna, Suvarṇa, Pāda* and *Kṛṣṇala.*

In the post-Vedic period, we find another denomination of a coin which is called *Kārṣāpaṇa.* It is referred to in *Pāṇini* and also in the *Jātakas.* From the stories of the *Jātakas*, it appears that this *Kārṣāpaṇa* was of three different metals i.e. Gold, Silver and Copper. Out of them, the mention of silver and copper coins has been made very often.

The units of *Kārṣāpaṇa are* :—[1]

(1) Kārṣāpaṇa.
(2) Ardha-Kārṣāpaṇa.
(3) Pāda-Kārṣāpaṇa.
(4) Chatur-Māśaka.
(5) Tri-Māśaka.
(6) Dvi-Māśaka.
(7) Eka-Māśaka.
(8) Ardha-Māśaka and
(9) Kakaṇika.

Gāmani-Chanda Jātaka mentions about a king of *Banaras* who punished a criminal with a fine of 24 *Kārṣāpaṇas* for a pair of oxen which he failed to return to the owner and one thousand *Kārṣāpaṇas* for breaking the leg of a horse.[2] These Kārṣāpaṇas must have been of silver, because of the fact that Gold and Copper would have been very high and very low in their values respectively. The other instance in another Jātaka is, that a fish was bought for 7 Māśaka which must have been of silver,[3] because the price of fish is generally low. A detailed price-list of the commodities of daily life as also of the charges of skilled and non-skilled labour is given here to help readers in visualizing the different values of different denominations of prevailing coins :—

---

[1] Bhandarkar, D.R. Op., cit., p-77.

[2] Jāt. II. 305.19; 30619-20.

[3] Ibid., 424, 19-20.

A decent ass	— 8 Kārṣāpaṇas[1]
A fawn	— 1 to 2 Kārṣāpaṇas[1]
A nice plump dog	— 1 Kārṣāpaṇa[2]
A bundle of grass	— 1 Māśaka[3]
A jar of liquor	— 1 Māśaka[4]
A dead mouse	— 1 Kakaṇika[5]
A day's fees of an Assessor	— 8 Kārṣāpaṇas[6]
Daily wage of a coolie	— ½ to 1 Māśaka[7]

The *Sāmanta-pasādikā*[8], while explaining a verse from *Patimokkha* says about *Kārṣāpaṇa* as follows :—

> "Tattha Kahapano ti : Suvannamayo va rupiyamayo va pakatiko va".

From the above notation it is clear that up to the 5th century A.D., when this canon was composed, Gold, Silver and Copper *Kārṣāpaṇas* were prevalent. Till the second century A.D. it was popular with the alternative name of Prati also.[9]

Even in the *Manu Saṁhitā*, we find that *Kārṣāpaṇa* was in common use. Of course, *Manu* defines it differently. He says that *Pana* or coined money i.e. *Tāmrika* is of copper and *Kārṣika* is 1 *Karṣa* in weight.[10] So, according to him *Kārṣāpaṇa* is a copper coin only. *Nārada*, on the other hand, while dealing *Karṣa* quotes in the *Vāchaspatya* that *Kārṣāpaṇa* is synonymous with *Pana* and remarks that in the south *Kārṣāpaṇa* was a silver coin. But in the same *Vāchaspatya* under *Kārṣāpaṇa* he gives three quotations—one from Gautama, the second from *Kātyāyana* and the third from *Shat-Trimsat*, that *Kārṣāpaṇa* is a synonym of *Purāna* which is known to be of silver. The *Kārṣāpaṇa* was also called *Dharana*. This *Dharana*

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1. JRAS, 1901, p-883.
2. Jāt. II 247.2.
3. Ibid., III. 130.8.
4. Ibid., I 350.11.
5. Ibid., I 120.20.
6. Ibid., IV. 138. 1, 7, 16-20.
7. Ibid., III. 326.17,
8. Quoted in INO-ACMC, 8 and n. 3.
9. JNSI. Vol-III, p-32.
10. Manu-II 9.88.

perhaps has got its origin from the *Dhri*, which means--to hold. But the most common name of this coin is *Purāna* which means old. And from this we can surmise that this coin was prevalent before the Greek occupation of the Punjab. It may be rightly inferred that for the sake of keeping a distinction of this coin from the latter coins of the Bactrians this name was in use.

The above conclusion is being verified by Burnouf,[1] the celebrated numismatist, who conceives that the Purāna is a piece of money, belonging to a system purely Indian, and therefore anterior to the system of the Greeks of Bactriana.

Amarsiṁha, in his *Amarakoṣa*, differentiates *Kārṣāpaṇa* and *Pana*. *Pana*, he says, is as *Tāmrika*, i.e. made of copper and his commentators, *Kshīrasvāmin* and *Rāmasvāmī* assert that *Kārṣāpaṇa* was a silver coin. But we understand that both *Karṣikā* and *Pana* imply the same thing which is one *Karṣa* in weight. By critically studying *Amarakoṣa*, it can be said with confidence that *Kārṣāpaṇa* was not of copper only rather of silver and gold also.

This inference is verified by *Pāṇini* also, when he mentions '*hatako Niskah hatakam Karsapanan*' in his '*jatarupebhyah parimane*'[2] where the author of *Kāśikā* says not only of *Niṣka* but also of *Kārṣāpaṇa* as being *Hātaka*, i.e. made of gold.

The sum and substance of this discussion is that from both *Brahmaṇical and Buddhist* literature it is found that Kārṣapaṇas were not of copper only but also of silver and gold.

Subsequently, we find the punch-marked coins (Āhata-Mudrā) retaining the position of *Kārṣāpaṇa* which is in contradistinction to 'die-struck'. A die covers the whole of the face of a coin while a punch covers only a small portion of its surface so that there may have been occasions to impress over it by many separate punches representing many devices as they passed into different hands. The face of the coins, therefore, became quite peculiar to look at, as they were impressed by different devices over them. These different symbols were used by different Shroffs and Moneyers. This was not assignable to any particular state or locality.[3] These punch-marked coins are pieces of silver, though irregular in shape, having definite

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1. Burnouf—introduction al 'historic du Buddhism Indian, p-147n.
2. Pāṇini, IV, 3,153.
3. Smith, V.A. CCIM, Vol-I pp-133-34.

value and contain gold stamp-marks as they were struck from different punches. The marks on these coins assured the guarantee of the issuing authority about its definite value and the purity and the weight of the metal.

There was a time when scholars were divided in their opinion about the issuing authorities of these coins but they believed this much at least, that the punch-marked coins were the private issues of the moneyers and traders.[1]

But this opinion has been refuted by D. B. Spooner, who comes to the conclusion that the issuing authorities of these coins were not private agencies rather the states themselves.[2]

In spite of the fact that these punch-marked coins were state coins, it is not impossible that the merchants might have put their own minute marks on them to testify their worth, whenever the coins happened to pass through them. Although the business community was greatly benefited by the issue of the state coins, they were suspicious about the state stamps and therefore they used to assay them properly and with the idea of averting the same process again and again in the future for the same coin, they started the practice of putting their own marks on the tested coins. Whenever such coins with their own marks came to them, they used to be satisfied about their purity and worth.

A few coins have been found in the Taxilā region with the word *Negamā* embossed on them. They are of course of a much later date.[3] They tend to suggest that they were issued by the guilds of merchants. But here too, scholars are of different views. Jayaswal opines that the *Negamā* coins were

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1. For details see—Smith, V.A. Op. cit., pp-133-34.
   Bhandarkar, D.R. Op. cit., p-98 ff.
   Cunningham, A. ASIAR, 1905-6, p-153,
   1913-14, p-220.
   Cent Supp to the JRAS, 1924, p-175.
   JASB, 1934 NS No. XLV, 5 ff; 1937 NS XLVII
   JNSI, Vol-II p-20, Vol-XIX, p-97 ff,
   Vol-XVII p-27 ff, Alt. Com. Vol-1960,
   Vol-XX p-114, Vol-XXIII, p-176 ff,
   Vol-XV, pp-1-26.
   INC Vol- III Pt-I 1962, p-68 ff
   JRAS, 1901, p-877.
2. Spooner, D.B. ASIAR, 1905-6, pp-150-55.
3. Allan, J. BMCAI—1936 Introduction.

issued by the state for the associations of the city merchants while the '*Janapada*' coins were the issue of the corporate body for the whole kingdom excluding the capital.[1] But this theory of Jayaswal has been criticised because of his interpretation of the term '*Janapada*'.

As per the opinion of Bhandarkar, *Negamā* stands for the term '*Naigamah*' of the *Smṛtis* in the sense of city-states.[2] But *Negamā* means a particular type of locality inhabited by traders and businessmen, the term '*Naigamah*' might have been derived both in the sense of a merchant and a corporate body of the merchants living in that locality. This latter view has the support of several authoritative legal commentators who explain the term to mean a merchants' guild. And thus we find that the *Negamas* might have been issuing coins in the capacity of authority incharge of a particular city and therefore the idea that the merchants guilds had the privilege to issue coins, is not inherently revolting.

Lallanji Gopal[3] holds the view that these coins were issued by the *Nigamas* as they must have been gradually empowered to do so. In the absence of a central body, powerful enough to mint, regulate, control and enforce coinages, these *Nigamas* which definitely transpire a compact locality of the business-community forming an association of their own, used to issue coins as they had actually been having a great role in the economic life of the contemporary society.

The punch-marked coins generally bear several symbols and have no inscriptions on them. Hence, the detailed account of these punch-marked coins cannot be had, although these coins are found throughout the length and breadth of the country and the number of the hoards so far has gone up to 100.[4] The numismatists divide them into two classes. One division of it is taken to be the local coins which are found in a particular specific area. Of course, they differ in their make, fabric and symbols from one particular area to another. The other division of the coins which was found all over India has got

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1. Jayaswal, K.P. Hindu Polity, Vol-II, p-25.
2. Bhandarkar, D.R. Op. cit., 1918, p-45.
3. JNSI, Vol-XXII, 1960, p-42 also cf his unpublished thesis "Economic Development In Ancient India" (c 400 A.D. to 700 A.D.) Chap—'Commercial Organisation'.
4. Gupta, P.L. 'A Bibliography Of The Hoards of The Punch-marked Coins'.

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uniformity in shape, weight and devices which consists of five symbols. The popularity of these types are ascertained thus, up to the time of the *Nandas* and the *Mauryas* when the country was under an imperial administration. As the coins of the first division are found in the hoards of the second division, it is inferred that the former were prevalent earlier than the latter. The former coins were in circulation during the time of the *Mahājanapadas*, just before the rise of the Magadhan empire, and the latter, when India witnessed the palmy days of the same empire. Besides this, Walsh, after scrutinizing various symbols of the punch-marked coins, has confirmed with confidence that these coins were made and issued from *Taxilā* in North-western India, from Pātaliputra in Eastern India and from Vidisā in Central India.[1] He has arrived at this conclusion after examining 108 punch-marked silver coins which were found at *Golakapur* in *Patna* (Bihar).

In order of succession we find that after the punch-marked coins the technique of casting coins from moulds came into use sometime in the third century B.C. In this system, instead of punching several symbols by separate dies, a single model was orepared where all the symbols were put together and then from that model, moulds were made and molten metal was poured into the moulds to cast coins.[2] This type of coin-casting was prevalent up to the beginning of the Christian era. And the coin was of copper only. The Yaudheyas were the foremost in issuing the moulded coins.

The technique of striking coins from dies—a distinctly advanced method of the manufacture of coins—came into being. It was a superior and easier method and so it became very popular at that time. Manufacture of coins by casting and punch-marking (the two previous methods), gradually became extinct. This system was adopted by the North-Indian tribes in which the regular die system was introduced and later on, inscriptions were also added into it. At first the device was on one side only but gradually the double-die system came into practice. The shape of the dies was at first square or rectangular. This is the traditional shape of the indigenous Indian coins. But

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1. JBORS, 1919, p-18-19.
2. Thakur, U. Op., cit., p-181.

afterwards the circular shape of the coins took its place and the dies also were shaped accordingly.[1]

The earliest reference to Indian coinage is the statement of Quintus Curtius (vit Alex VIII 12, 42) that Omphis king of Taxilā presented 80 talents of coined silver (argenti Signati lxxx talenta) to Alexander the Great which has generally been taken as an evidence of the existence of coinage in India about 325 B.C.[2]

Legends of the early Indian coins can be compared with the inscriptions of Aśoka They date closely and are therefore of immense help in determining the chronology. Datable inscriptions are also of great value in this connection specially those which contain names.

The Bhārahut Stupa (middle of the second century B.C.) and the Mahābodhi Stupa (about 100 B.C.) of Bodh Gayā, both illustrate Buddhist legends about the purchase of *Jetavana*-garden at Śrāvastī. The owner of the garden is said to have fixed the price at the amount of money that would cover the garden. The garden being paved with coins can be seen in the sculpture. All the coins are square in shape. Although it is not clear whether the sculptors derived inspiration of depicting square coins on the Stupas, from the knowledge of the prevalence of coins of that shape during the time of Buddha or such coins actually existed during the period (middle of second century to about 100 B.C.) when these Stupas were constructed. All such coins cannot be given much importance, as punch-marked coins of both the square and round shapes appear to have been issued together, at all times depending upon the individual preference of the mints of origin who either preferred one or both the shapes.[3]

By the above general survey of the ancient Indian coinage system, we come to the conclusion that :—

(1) Metals started being used in India for coinage, as early as the Vedic-period.

(2) Gold was a prominent metal in coinage.

(3) Niṣka, Śatamāna, Suvarṇa, Pāde and Kṛṣṇala were all gold coins of the Vedic period.

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[1] This we observe in Cunningham's CAI. Pl-II, fig-14, 17.

[2] We cannot follow Thomas (P.E.-i-228) & Cunningham—NC 1873, p-211.

[3] Allan, J. Op. cit., 'Introduction'.

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(4) Weight-standards were based on Guṁja-Berries (called also Raktikā and Kṛṣṇala)

(5) Silver and copper also came into use at a later date.

(6) Cowries were used at first as ornaments and later as currency.

(7) Kārṣāpaṇas (the other names of it being Dharana and Purāna) were of gold, silver and copper also.

(8) Punch-marked coins had their origin from the Vedic period.

(9) Though it was the salient feature of the state governments to issue coins, all the states were not serious about it.

(10) Negamas or the Nigamas enjoyed the privilege of manufacturing and issuing coins.

(11) After punch-marking, moulding was introduced and finally die-striking started as the method of manufacture of the coins.

(12) Ancient Indian coins used to be square or rectangular in shape but later they were given circular shapes also.

2. COINAGE : THEIR IMPORTANCE IN THE STUDY OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

Numismatics is the only source of information about the ancient Indian history on which reliance can be placed. By the careful study of the subject we get a lot of information regarding our past. Evidently it sheds light on the different aspects of our ancient history. Had these coins not come to our help, we would have been quite in dark about the political, social and religious condition of our forefathers. The way they ruled and administered laws and the fact of their being subdued by foreigners and other historical facts of this nature can be obtained by careful study and thorough examination of the ancient coins. From coins we learn about the glorious days of a particular king when a particular coin was issued by him, either to commemorate his victory or coronation and at the same time we get information about his defeat by another king who issued another coin of his own and enforced it into the defeated ruler's territory.

By deciphering the inscriptions of a particular coin of the ancient period, the change of religion in a particular age is also revealed. We know that the legends also were affected by the influence of the foreigners. How the advent of the *Yavanas* in our pious land brought about changes ! It is through the study of this subject that we ascertain how the religion of this land has been affected. And, considering all these points, there is no doubt that this science has played a very important part in bringing us from dark to light.

Let us take the example of the political history of ancient India. Had there been no coins, we could not have known anything about the *Indo-Bactrian Greeks*, the *Indo-Scythians*, the *Indo-Parthians* and the *Kuṣāṇa* kings who ruled over northern India during 250 B.C.—300 A.D.[1] It is clear from the study of their coins only that 37 kings of Greek origin[2] ruled the northern part of our country for about 300 years.

We can assure about the order of the succession of their names with the help of these coins. We are indebted to coins for learning about *Kujula Kadphises* and *Wema Kadphises* who were the first of the Kuṣāṇas to gain supremacy in our country. Elaborate knowledge of the historical facts of western *Kshatrapas of Kathiawar* and *Malwa* could be possible by the study of coinage of that time as they give the names and titles, not only of the rulers but also of their fathers and, what is most important, specify dates which enable us to arrange them in order of their succession. This aspect of the coins helps us in determining even the exact year in which one *Kshatrapa* ruler was succeeded by the other.

A close study of these coins makes it clear that there existed three forms of administrative systems in ancient India, viz. *Gaṇa*, *Naigama* and *Janapada*. *Gaṇa* denotes a small body of men who had the supreme power of the state in their hands i.e. republican form of government. We have come across three different types of coinage of the *Mālavas*, the *Yaudhevas* and the *Vṛṣṇis*. This is also verified by several inscriptions and by the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kautilya*. We have also such coins from which it is quite clear that democracy too was thriving at that time along with oligarchy, the instances of which are denoted by the terms *Naigama* and *Janapada*.

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[1] Bhandarkar, D.R. Op. cit., p-2.
[2] Smith, V.A. Op. cit., p-56.

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Naigama refers to the administration of town and *Janapada* to the administration of a province. In the Punjab, a series of coins have been unearthed on the obverse of which the word *Negamā* i.e. *Naigamah* is inscribed while on the reverse *Dojak*, *Talimata*, *Atakataka* and so forth are found embossed. Thus we find that a country autonomy or *Janapada* as it was called, was not unknown to India and this is clear from a study of the contemporary coins only. There had been two types of coins—one of which was issued by the *Rājanya Janapada* and the other by the *Śibi Janapada* of the *Mādhyamika-country*.

From the legends of the coins of the Mālavas, it is also clear that there existed a republican form of government as is revealed by the inscription ot '*Mālavajanapadasa*'[1] and '*Mālavagaṇasyajaya*'[2] on their coins. Such is the case with the Yaudheyas, the legends on whose coins describe them as '*Yaudheya Gaṇasyajaya*'.[3]

(i) The Indo-Bactrian and the Indo-Greek coins

Now we have to consider about the time when the *Indo-Bactrian Greeks* came in contact with this land. There is no mention anywhere in our available records about any foreigner entering our land before *Pāṇini*. It is *Pāṇini*, who in his *Sūtras* teaches us about the formation of the word *Yavanānī* which is derived from *Yavana* and this has been explained by *Kātyāyana* as 'the writing of the Yavanas or Greeks.' Thus we get the clear idea that Greeks must have come in contact with this land at the time of Pāṇini. But to find out the exact time of Pāṇini is a knotty problem.[4] Some scholars hold that Pāṇini lived in the fourth century B.C., after the invasion of Alexander. If this is taken to be true, it means that the Yavanas also appeared at the scene, after Alexander. They hold that these Yavanas have been left out by Alexander to rule over the territories which had been conquered by him. But this view is not accepted by scholars

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1. Excavation at Rairh, p-71.
2. Allan, J. Op, cit., Introduction, p-cv.
3. Ibid., p-cli.
4. Narain, A.K. The Indo-Greeks, p-1.

and historians like Goldstucker and Ramkrishna Bhandarkar.[1] According to them, Pāṇini's time is fixed at 6th century B.C., i.e. long before Alexander's invasion of this country and as such these Bactrian Greeks must have been in contact with this land in the 6th century B.C.

A very conclusive argument about Pāṇini's time, based on the study of the Aśokan inscriptions, specially on Rock Edict XIII has been advanced by D.R. Bhandarkar. On this edict, mention has been made of the five Greek kings whose kingdoms were situated outside India. The word *Yonas* appears in this edict. *Kambojas* and *Gāndhāras* are mentioned in it. There is no doubt about the Yonas being Greeks, but there is some confusion about the locality in which they lived.

Bactria was a part and parcel of the Syrian empire of *Antiochus Theos.* The name of Antiochus Theos also appears on the Rock Edict, it is therefore certain that the rulers of Bactria must not have issued coins as they were not independent.

The Greek historians—*Trogus*, *Justin* and *Strabo* also affirm that *Diodotus* declared the independence of Bactria after the death of Antiochus Theos. Thus in all probability Yonas must have occupied the land near *Gāndhāra* as it is clear from the knowledge of the extent of the Aśokan empire that the two settlements namely *Aria* and *Arachosia* which were ceded by *Selucuos* to *Chandragupta* must have been inherited intact by Aśoka from his grandfather.

Historians are divided in their opinion about the settlements colonised by Alexander in India. A number of Yavana settlements came into being in the *Uttarāpatha*[2] (northern India). The most important of these settlements were :—

(1) The city of *Alexandria* (modern Charikar or Opian[3]) in the land of Paropanisadae i.e. the Kabul region.

(2) *Boukephala*, possibly in the eastern side of the Hydaspas (Jhelum).

(3) *Nikaia*, where the battle with Poros took place.

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[1] Bhandarkar, D.R. Op. cit., p-25.

[2] Raychaudhuri, H.C. PHAI Ed-VI, p-262.

[3] Modern Begram. Referred to by Tarn in his 'The Greeks in Bactria and India', p-462 to have been situated on the western bank facing Kapisā which was situated on the eastern bank, at the confluence of the united Panjshir and Ghorband rivers.

(4) *Alexandria*, at or near the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, north-east of the countries of the Sodrai or Sogdoi and Massanoi; and

(5) *Sogdian Alexandria* below the confluence of the Punjab rivers.[1]

We have today sufficient historical data to believe the existence of the Yavana colonies as late as the rule of Aśoka. Aśoka recognised the existence of the Yona (Yavana) settlers on the north-western fringe of his empire and appointed some of them (e.g. the *Yavana-Rāja Tuṣāspa*) to high offices of his state. Boukephala Alexandria flourished as late as the time of *Periplus* of the *Erythraean Sea*. One of the Alexandrias is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*[2] also.

But the transient nature of the foreign settlements and that they could not influence the Indian society and culture to a very great extent is testified by the fact that *Chandragupta Maurya* happened to sweep them away. 'The Macedonian prefectures and garrisons were soon swept away by Chandragupta Maurya and within a few years all vestiges of foreign domination disappeared from the Punjab and Sindh.'[3]

Yet there had been definite influences of this foreign intercourse upon the then prevailing Indian coins. Some of the tangible relics of Alexander's invasion of India are imitation of *Athenian 'Owl'* coins and silver *Drachms* of attic weight. One remarkable silver *Decadrachm* is supposed by Barclay Head to represent Alexander on the reverse and on the obverse, *Poros* mounted on a retreating elephant which is being pursued by a horse-man.

The possession of territories in this locality by the Yavanas is obvious from the coins picked up in the North-West Frontier Provinces also. These coins have head of *Athena* on the obverse and Owl on the reverse and are called *Owls*.[4] They are considered to be of 594—560 B.C.,[5] and thus the Greek colonies might have flourished near India about 550 B.C.[6]

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1. McCrindle, J.W., IIA, pp-293, 354; Bury, J.B., 'History of Greece for Beginners', p-433; Rapson, E.J., CHI, Vol-I, p-376 f.
2. Mahāvaṁsa, Giger's Translation, p-194.
3. Maj. Raych. & Datta, AHI Ed-II, p-68.
4. NC, Vol-XX, p-191.
5. Hill's Historical Greek Coins, p-11.
6. JRAS, 1904, pp-613-15.

By this discussion it is also established that Pāṇini must have flourished in the 6th century B.C. and so he has used the word *Yavanānī*. Besides, there is further argument to hold this view. When Alexander invaded India, *Sophytes* ruled somewhere in the western Punjab. He submitted to Alexander and was then reinstated by him in his own kingdom. On the coins of Sophytes we find his head on the obverse and the figure of a cock on the reverse. His name is inscribed on it in Greek character and therefore it is safe to conclude that he was a Greek prince living in India from before the invasion of Alexander. Rapson holds that Sophytes is not a Greek name. It must have been *Saubhūtī*[1] of Sanskrit. The state of Sophytes was situated near the territory of the *Kathaians* which M. Sylvain Levi has correctly identified with Saubhūtī.[2] And, it is most likely that this name had been adopted by the Greek prince as another Greek prince took Persian name *Tuṣāspa*.

The existence of a Greek colony, *Nysa* situated between the *Kophen* and the *Indus* has been mentioned in the 5th book of Arrian's work.[3] Its founder was *Dionysos* as the officials of Nysa stated before Alexander when he was returning back from India. Thus we are convinced that Yavanas had been occupying the areas lying in the western frontier long before the invasion of Alexander.

We have seen that Sophytes adopted Hindu name just at the time of Alexander and in the same manner other Indo-Bactrian Greeks adopted not only the names of Hindus but embraced Hindu religion as well. This statement is further verified by the fact that in the time of *Antialkidas*, his ambassador *Heliodorus*, a Greek, had become a *Bhāgavata*, a devotee of *Vāśudeva*.

On the square bronze coins of *Eucratides Zeus* is seated on the throne, holding a garland and there is a palm-branch and the forepart of an elephant in front of him.[4] On the reverse of it there is a Kharoṣṭhī legend which reads—*Kavisiye nagara-devatā* which means the city-deity of Kapisā. According to *Pāṇini*

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[1] Rapson, E.J., AI, pp-152-53; Smith, V.A., Op. cit., p-7.

[2] JA, Vol-VIII 15 p-237 ff.

[3] McCrindle, J.W., Op. cit., pp-79-80, IA, 1909, p-144; Arrian V, 26 Quoted in Narain's IG, p-2.

[4] JRAS, 1905, p-783 ff.

Sūtra[1] *Kapisī* was a Hindu town where good wine used to be brewed, so it must be a Hindu deity protecting this Kapisī and as such this deity has been confused to be Zeus. There is another instance of the inscription *Nagara-Devatā* which appears on another coin. The obverse of this coin bears the image of a Goddess with the Kharoṣthī legend—(*Pa*) *Khalavadi-devada*[2] which means tutelary deity of *Puṣkalāvatī*. This Puṣkalāvatī was a Hindu city. As this deity is in Greek costume with Mural crown on her head which is the emblem of a Greek civic deity—the natural inference from the observation of the coin is that the mere Greek dress and emblem alone cannot reveal a deity to be of a Hellenic origin. A Hindu divinity may appear under Hellenic garb on such Indo-Bactrian coins. The Greeks were apt to adopt foreign deities as their own, if they found anything common in them. The living example of this is that *Megasthenes* asserts *Kṛṣṇa* and *Balarāma* as *Herakles* and *Śiva* of the hills, *Dionysos*.

Gardner is of opinion that deities on the coins of Indo-Bactrian Greek princes may not be Hellenic in spite of the fact that they appear in Hellenic looks. It is guessed that because of the influence of local Indian or Persian legends or their beliefs it has happened so. The earliest coins bear the Indian types. On the coins of *Pantaleon* and *Agathocles* we see a dancing-girl wearing ear-rings and trousers.[3] Similar is the case with the coins of Philoxenus and Tolephus where a very bright figure of a sun-god holding a long sceptre appears. Thus, it is a settled fact that Indo-Bactrian kings have also been influenced by the Indian religious beliefs.

The Indo-Greek kings used either one, or more royal epithets on their coins before their names. An important stage of remarkable character in the development of coin-legends starts from this period. They can be classified under the following heads :—

1. Regular Issues.
2. Commemorative Isues (Medals) and
3. Joint Issues.

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[1] Pāṇini IV 2-99.

[2] JRAS, 1905, p-787.

[3] PMC Pl-II 35; BMC Pl-III-9, IV-9. The description of the obv. female figure as dancing-girl is not correct (cf Allan in Marshall's Taxilā-ii-858).

1. Regular Issues

(*a*) *Monolingual and Monoscriptual Coins*

Such coins were issued in Greek legends in Greek scripts by the following rulers :—

(i) Diodotus I & II
(ii) Euthydemus I & II
(iii) Demetrius I
(iv) Antimachus I
(v) Plato
(vi) Heliocles
(vii) Eucratides — II

These Greek rulers had actually nothing to do with Indiaproper.

(*b*) *Bilingual and Biscriptual Coins*

Most of the other Greek rulers issued this type of coins.

2. Commemorative Issues (Medals)

These commemorative medals were issued by Indo-Greek rulers for the commemoration of the following events :—

(i) In honour of some important historical personages.
(ii) In honour of some relations.
(iii) To commemorate some important era.

Such type of coins were issued by the following rulers :—

(i) *Antimachus-I*

He was the originator of this type of coins. He issued the coins to commemorate Diodotus-I and Euthydemus-I

(ii) *Agathocles*

He also commemorated Diodotus-I and Euthydemus-I in his issues.

(iii) *Menander*

The commemoration done by him in his coins is not yet determined because the coins do not bear any legends or signs.

(iv) *Eucratides*

He commemorated his relatives. A coin issued by him records the name of Heliocles and Laodice who are supposed to be either his father and mother or his son and daughter-in-law respectively.

3. Joint Issues

The coins under this head can be further divided into the following two categories :—

(i) *Issued by Regents*

Such coins were issued by the regents. They might have come into being out of necessity. Coins issued by Agathocleia, acting as a regent during the minority of Strato-I, fall under this category.

(ii) *Issued in association with subordinate ruler*

If the coin bearing the names of Lysias and Antialkidas in Kharoṣthī on the obverse and on the reverse, Antialkidas is not taken to be a mule—it comes under this class. On the obverse, Lysias adopts his usual title—Aniketos (invincible) while on the reverse Antialkidas is called Jayadharasa (victorious). On the independent issues of the coins of Antialkidas we find him adopting the Jayadharasa title and on this joint issue also he is depicted with the same designation and thus it is evident that this coin is a joint issue in association with Lysias[1] whose nāme and title also appear on the obverse.

(ii) The Kuṣāṇa Coins

The Indo-Parthian dynasty which was founded by Gondophares had issued coins, on the reverse of which was embossed the figure of *Śiva* holding a trident.[2] In the like manner, we find the figure of Lord Śiva with a trident on the coins of *Wema Kadphises*, the second ruler of the *Kuṣāṇas*. This Śiva is sometimes figured with his bull *Nandin* which is called his *Vāhana*. He is portrayed wearing tiger-skin on his body and sometimes holding gourd also in his hand.[3] This is an exclusive proof of these foreign kings being worshippers of Śiva and followers of Hindu religion—*Brahmaṇism* thereby. Out of

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1. Narain, A.K., 'The coin types of the Indo-Greek Kings', p-25.
2. BMCGSKI, lviii and 104; JRAS (1903), p-285; PMC, pp-151-52.
3. BMCGSKI, p-124 ff; CCIM, Vol-I, p-68; PMC, p-183.

these foreign rulers *Kaniṣka*, *Huviṣka* and *Vāśudeva* who were the successors of Wema Kadphises are the most important kings who embraced Hinduism which is evident from their coins. For the first time we find the *Buddha* on the coins of Kaniṣka. Besides the above, on other coins of Kaniṣka the figure of Śiva appears[1] as it appeared on the coins of his predecessors. Therefore, it can be definitely surmised that in the later part of his reign, he was inclined towards Buddhism. We see further that Kaniṣka became a staunch follower of Buddhism and as such he propagated this religion.

These Kuṣāṇa kings selected a few deities of Greek religion, mainly Iranian and some of Hindu divinities for their worship. We see that they have a peculiar trait of their own, regarding the faith of religion, and as such this is never considered to be an ordinary thing with them. We do not have even one example of this nature in the whole history of ancient India :—

> "This singular trait of religious mind, evinced by these Kuṣāṇas in deducing a pantheon of their own, by a selection from among the deities of various religions; which is of extreme importance for the religious history of any country, is made known to us for the first time, not by epigraphy but by numismatics only."[2]

We come across Greek letters '*OHPO*' on the coins of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāśudeva. There had been a difference of opinion among the numismatists on the implications of these four magic-letters. Bhandarkar is quite definite about the second letter '*H*'. According to him this letter must have been used in place of letter—'*M*' and thus he says *Umeśa*[3] i.e. *Śiva* is meant by this term. The worship of Śiva was most popular even among the successors of the Kuṣāṇas—the *Scytho-Sassanians* as Śiva and bull are found on the coins of king *Varahran*-V (A.D. 422—440).[4] This Śiva-bull type is also found on the coins of *Śaśāṅka*, king of *Gauḍa* (A.D. 600—625).[5] It was not only Śiva who was worshipped by them rather some other deities viz., *Skanda*, *Kumāra*, *Viśākha* and *Mahāsenā* connected with Śiva are also found represented either jointly or severally on the coins of *Huviṣka*. Even the bull of Śiva is found alone on the coins of *Mihirakula*, (who was the most powerful among the Hūṇas), with the legend '*Jayatu Vrishah*' on the reverse.[1]

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[1] BMCGSKI, p-132; CCIM, Vol-I, p-74; PMC, p-187.

[2] Bhandarkar, D.R., Op. cit., p-16.

[3] 'Umā' occurs on a coin of Huviṣka (NC—1892, pl-XIII, I) where 'M' is twice written like 'H' (JRAS—1897, p-324)

[4] Rapson, E.J., IC, pl-II, No. 15.

[5] CCGD. p-147.

Besides the adoption of Hindu religion, these foreign rulers adopted Hindu names as well. *Vāśudeva* is the name of a king of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. 'Vāśudeva' is one of the incarnation of God *Viṣṇu*. This is evident from the following popular and sacred hymn of the Hindus :—

'*Om Namaḥ Bhagavate Vāśudevai Namaḥ*'

Similarly, the kings of the *Kshatrapa* dynasty of *Surāṣṭra* and Malwa adopted Hindu names. There had been 29 kings in this dynasty. The founder of this dynasty *Chasṭan*, and his father *Yaśmotika* somehow retained Scythic names but the other 27 who followed them kept Hindu names such as *Jayadāman*, *Rudradāman* and others.

The devices appearing on the earliest indigenous coins of India shed a flood of light on the problem of systematic representations of Gods and Goddesses. From the coins of *Gondophares* and the *Kuṣāṇa* rulers, it is clear that they were worshippers of Śiva of Hindu religion. It is certain that there has been a change in the mode of worship of this deity now. On the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings, this Śiva has been figured standing near his bull, holding a trident in his hand. He is depicted wearing tiger-skin. But the question arises whether the Hindus, at that time, worshipped Śiva in this form and appearance. Of course, the present Hindu devotees of Śiva do not worship him in this appearance, and this must not have been the tradition up to the post-Gupta period.

The symbol of Liṅga on these coins is conspicuous by its absence. It may therefore be guessed that the mode of worship of this deity has been revolutionised now. Hence it is most likely that this must have been the mode of worship, i.e. Śiva standing etc. in vogue at the time when these inscriptions were made on these coins. At present, the Hindus, throughout the length and breadth of India, worship not the image of Śiva, but the Liṅga of Śiva which they interpret as being the symbol of Lord Śiva.

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[1] Smith, V.A., Op. cit., p-236. For details cf. Thakur, U., the Hūṇas in India, pp-286-88.

From Pātañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on *Pāṇini's Sūtra Jivik Arthe ch-Apnye* we are sure that liṅga-worship had not come into practice in place of image-worship of *Śiva* upto his time.[1] Evidence is not wanting that till the 7th century A.D., Śiva was being worshipped in human form which is also testified by the coins of *Śaśāṅka* who flourished in the first half of the 7th century A.D., though already in the beginning of the Gupta period liṅga-worship was being foisted on the Śiva-cult.[2] Of course, the earliest representation of liṅga is known to us by the liṅga-stone of *Karamdaṇḍā* with the inscription —*Bhagavān Mahādeva* on the base. This Liṅga-stone is dated G.E.—117 = 436 A.D.[3] The second and most relevant example of liṅga-worship is found in a Śaiva temple at *Gudimallam* in south India which is of an earlier period than the 4th century A.D. But even here, the liṅga is not alone, rather it is accompanied with a standing form of Śiva.[4] It appears from this, that this image-worship of Śiva was not altogether forgotten upto that time and was not completely supplanted by liṅga.

From Pātañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, it appears that the image of Śiva was made for worship. He speaks of two other deities —*Skanda* and *Viśākhā*. We find two other deities *Kumāra* and Mahāsenā also appearing at that time and all these four deities are regarded to be the names of the same God, *Kārttikeya* who is believed to be the son of Śiva and the great general of the warriors of Gods. *Amarakoṣa* declares 17 names of this deity—Kārttikeya. Scholars are divided in their opinion about Skanda and Viśākhā being one and the same God. They consider the two names to be of two different gods.

There are two types of *Huviṣka*'s coins. In one type of coins we find *Skanda*, *Kumāra* and *Viśākhā*; three gods, but in other types of coins we find four gods—Skanda, Kumāra, *Viś-*

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[1] JBBRS, Vol-XVI, p-208.

[2] Bhandarkar, D.R., Op. cit., p-21.

[3] EI, Vol-X, p-70 ff.

[4] PMC, p-207.

ākhā and *Mahāsenā*. And as such it is beyond doubt that one and the same god *Kārttikeya* has not been given so many names. The time of *Huviṣka* is the second half of the second century A.D., while that of *Amarakoṣa* is the 4th century A.D.[1] We cannot, therefore, rely upon the statement of Amarakoṣa that Kārttikeya alone has been given all the 17 names.

Kuṣāṇa coins are usually found in gold and copper. Their silver coins are very rare. A silver coin issued by Huviṣka was published by Mr. Dar. The type and size of their silver coin is of the usual gold currency. It bears the bust of the king on the obverse and the figure of a standing deity on the reverse.[2]

In view of the above discussion, it will not be safe, however, to assume that the Kuṣāṇa kings were the followers of Hinduism, but at least this much is clear that they had certain amount of respect of the beliefs of the people they governed. They had made a medley of Hindu, Buddhist, Iranian and Greek gods and goddesses because they had a liking for drawing their philosophy from various schools.

So far as the reasons for the adoption of the issue of gold coins by the Kuṣāṇas are concerned, they probably got this inspiration from the *Achaemenians*, the *Macedonians*, the *Seleucids* and the *Ptolemies*.[3]

As we have known that the countries noted above were economically very sound and entertained great pride and sense of achievement in their civilised life when they issued gold coins. The Kuṣāṇas also must have cherished great desire for a similar issue to prove their supremacy in the field of economy excelling other contemporary powers.

Besides this psychological reason, they had greater access to the sources of indigenous and even foreign gold.[4] Gold coins were universally accepted by foreign traders and to provide an acceptable coinage, this metal was introduced by Kuṣāṇas in their time.

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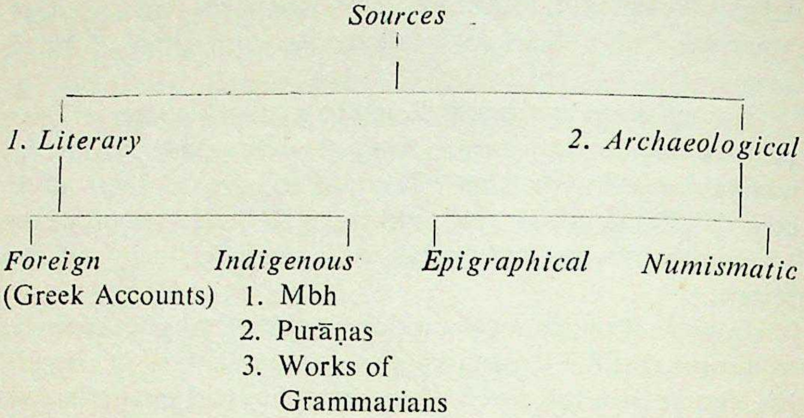
1. IA (1912), p-216.
2. Sino-Indian Studies, Vol-I Pt-II, p-13.
3. Göbl, R., 'Numismatic Evidence Relating To The Date Of Kaniṣka (A paper in the SOAS Seminar).
4. Adhya, G.L., 'Early Indian Economics', p-179.

(iii) The Coins of the Tribal Republics of the Punjab and adjoining Regions.

The sources of information about tribal coins can be devided as under :—



1. Literary Sources

(*a*) *Foreign*

The only foreign source of information about the tribes is the accounts of Greek historians of the time of Alexander's invasion upon India. These descriptions also are not much as they contain the mention of only three tribes namely the Mālavas, the Śibis and the Aśvakas. Although they deal with a smaller number of the contemporary tribes, the informative value of their description is of immense value.

(*b*) *Indigenous*

Among the indigenous sources, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the works of grammarians like Pāṇini and Pātañjali are of great importance. The descriptions of Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are of doubtful character, firstly because both of them do not belong to the class of actual history in the true sense of the term and secondly because a major portion of them was compiled and written as a much later date—thus making their authenticity doubtful. Besides that, they contain record of legends and traditions and as such, deduction of sober history from them becomes difficult. Of course, the element of truth behind these assertions cannot be totally denied.

2. Archaeological Sources

(*a*) *Epigraphical*

The details obtained from the inscriptions regarding the tribal states is very meagre. Most of the epigraphical records mentioned merely the names of the tribes.

(*b*) *Numismatic*

Among the tribes whose coins bear numismatic value, the Yaudheyas can be placed at the top. The future explorations are expected to yield new information. There are at least about a dozen tribes about whom we have come to know from their coins. They have been dealt in detail separately.

In the Vedic period, monarchy was the form of government. But from the 5th century B.C. onwards, we find traces of republican form of government in our country. *Pāṇini* in his *Aṣṭadhyāyī* mentions a number of republics of his time. The Buddhist texts also record the names of many republics. Kauṭilya has mentioned the names of many republics in his *Arthaśāstra*. The Greek historians as well give a long list of tribal republics with whom Alexander came into contact. On the basis of these evidences, authentic history of the republics of ancient India can be prepared. These republics were generally designated '*Gaṇas*', as these states of *Saṁghas* were governed by assemblies, so called because of the number or 'numbering of the members present.'[1]

Pāṇini gives a list of republics which he designates—*Āyudhajīvin Saṁghas* i.e. the Saṁghas which observed the practice of arms or military art. They are :—

1. The Vṛka[2]
2. The Dāmani[3] (and others)
3. The Kauṇḍoparatha
4. The Dāṇḍaki
5. The Kausṭaki
6. The Jālamani
7. The Brāhmagupta
8. The Jānaki (or Jālaki)

Called also 'The Trigartta Śaṣtha' (the league of the 6 Trigarttas) whose names are given in the Kāśikā on the authority of an ancient verse[4]

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[1] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. cit., p-27.

[2] पृकठ्िज्यण्—5.3.115.

[3] दामन्यादित्रिगर्तषष्टाच्छः—5.3.116.

[4] आहुस्त्रिगर्तषष्टास्तु कौण्डीपरयदण्डको ।
क्रोष्टुकिर्जालमानिश्च ब्राह्मगुप्तोडयजानकिः ॥

9. The Yaudheya, and others'
10. The Parśva 'and others'[1]

According to Pāṇini these republics were situated in the Vāhika country and those *Vāhikas* i.e. the people of Vāhika mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* were no other than the inhabitants of the Punjab.[2] Jayaswal interprets Vāhika country to mean the country of the rivers comprising the Sindh valley and the Punjab.[3]

Further Pāṇini adds 6 other communties as republicans. They are :—

(1) The Madra[4]
(2) Vṛji[4]
(3) The Rājanya[5]
(4) The Andhaka—Vṛṣṇi[6]
(5) The Mahārāja[7] and
(6) The Bharga.[8]

Buddhist literature also records the names of the following republics :—

(1) The Śākyas of Kapilavastu
(2) The Koliyas of Rāmagrāma
(3) The Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī
(4) The Videhas of Mithilā
(5) The Mallas of Kuśīnagara and Pāwā
(6) The Moriyas of Pippalivana
(7) The Bulis of Allakappa and
(8) The Bhaggas or the Bhargas, neighbours of the Vatsa of Kauśāmbī.[9]

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1. पश्लादियोधेयादिभ्यामञौ—5.3.117.

As per the Kāśikā, the description of the Āyudhajī-vin-Saṁgha ends with 117. Pāṇini calls the Yaudheyas, a Janapada; a nation or country i.e. political country (by IV.I.178 to be read with sūtra 168). Parśvas of Pāṇini were in Vāhika country. There were Brahmaṇas and Rājanyas among them. Parśvas are mentioned in Vedas also (VI. I pp-504-09).

2. M. Sylvain Levi, IA, Vol-XXXV (1906), p-18.
3. Jayaswal, K.P., Op. cit., p-35.
4. मद्रवृज्योःकन्—4.2.131.
5. राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ-4.2.53.
6. राजन्यबहुवचन—द्वन्द्वे न्धकवृष्णिषु—6.2.34.
7. महाराजाद्वञ—4.3.67.
8. न प्राच्यभर्गादि-यौधेयादिभ्यः—4.1.179.
9. Rhys Davids 'BI', pp-8, 9, 22.

The other group of republics is referred to by Kauṭilya. Of the *Rājaśabdopajīvin Saṁghas* i.e. the republics in which the leaders had the title of kings, Kauṭilya enumerates :—

(1) The Lichchhavikas.
(2) The Vṛjikas.
(3) The Mallakas.
(4) The Madrakas.
(5) The Kukaras.
(6) The Kurus.
(7) The Pāñchālas and others.[1]

The other republics or the *Śastropajīvin Saṁghas* were :—

(1) The Kambhojas.
(2) The Surāṣṭras.
(3) The Kshatriyas.
(4) The Śreṇis and others.

Some of these states like the *Kurus*, the *Videhas* and the *Pāñchālas* changed from monarchy to republican form of government. The *Lichchhavis*, famous in Buddhist literature, had a long history but the Mallas perhaps did not survive the Mauryas, and such was the case with the Kurus also. We know from the *Mahābhārata* that the *Kukaras* were members of the *Aṇdhaka-Vṛṣṇi Saṁgha* and are mentioned in the inscriptions of western India towards the close of the 1st century B.C.[2] The Kambhojas lived in eastern Afghanistan, the *Surāṣṭras* in Kathiawar and the *Kshatriyas* and the *Śreṇis* in Sindh.

The identification by Jayaswal of the Kshatriyas, the *xathroi* of the Greek historians as a political body and not as a caste denomination is fully justified. The *Argesinoe* with its variants *Agesinoe*, *Acensoni* etc. can be surely identified with the *Agraśreṇis* or the *First Śreṇī*[3] i.e. one of the branches of the republican people. The Śreṇis had perhaps a number of divisions, like the three sections of the Yaudheyas of which the 2nd and the 3rd sections are referred to specifically on their coins.[4]

The Greek writers give a long list of aristocratic and republican states with which Alexander came into contact. The Kathaians lived in the eastern side of the Rāvī or the Hydraotes, including the districts of Lahore and Amritsar. Their capital

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1. Kauṭilya, AS, Ch-XI, p-376 ff.
2. EI, Vol-VIII, pp-44, 60.
3. McCrindle, J.W., Op., cit., p-367.
4. Cunningham, A., CAI, p-78.

was Saṅkala. Before reaching Kathaians, Alexander came across a number of republics. Just near the Rāvīthere dwelt the Adrastais, the Adrestaisor, the Adrsotae; identified by Jayaswal with the Aristas of Pāṇini.[1] The state of Sophytes, identified as Saubhūti by M. Sylvain Levi, was situated near the Kathaian territory and extended to the Salt-range.[2] Besides this, on the east of the Hyphasis or Beas, dwelt a people with an aristocratic form of government. On the basis of the discovery of the Yaudheya coins, Jayaswal suggests that they were really the Yaudheyas of old, who were good agriculturists, brave in fighting and had an excellent system of government.[3]

When Alexander was returning back to his own country, he came across a large number of small republics which covered the regions lying between the Indus and the Baluchistan frontier. The prominent states among them were the Kshudrakas, the Mālavas spelt by the Greeks as Oxydrakai and Malloi respectively who later formed a communion of their own[4] and near them there was another republican state, friendly to the *Mallois* called the *Sibois*[5] who have been known as the Śibis in the *Jātakas* and mentioned as Śaibyas by Pātañjali.[6] Mālavas dwelt on the Jhelum below its confluence with the Chenab, while the Kshudrakas had their territories higher up. The republic of Śibis, as we have already seen, was also near the Mālavas. Ambaṣthas were another republican people who are referred to by the Greeks as Sambastai or the Abstanoi. The Xathroi, the Ossadoi and the Musicani have been restored to in their Saṅskrit forms by Jayaswal as the Kshatriyas, the Vasātis and the Muchukarna.[7] A separate insignificant republic named Brachmanoi[8] situated in the delta region of the Indus river which was next reduced by Alexander, has been identified as Hyderabad in Sindh. This is identical with Pātañjali's '*Brahamaṇko Nama Janapadah*'[9] (the country called Brahamanaka)

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[1] अरिष्टगौडपूर्वेंच—6.2.100.

[2] M. Sylvain Levi, JA, Vol-VIII, p-237 ff.

[3] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. cit., pp-61-62, JBORS, Vol-XXII, p-59.

[4] Cf the *Kshatriya-Dvandva* of the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, IV 2.45.

[5] Curtius IX 4, Diodorus-XVII.96.

[6] Jat-VI, p-480. 'Majhimikaya Sibi Janapadasa' Pātañjali quoted in ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-146.

[7] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. cit., chap-VIII.

[8] Arrian VI-16, Diodorus-XXVII-cii.

[9] II, p-298.

The *Phegalas* and the *Glaukanikoi* are said to be the same as *Bhagala* of the *Gaṇapātha* and *Glauchukayanakas* of the *Kāśikā* respectively. Thus we see that the Punjab and the Sindh regions were covered by a large number of republican and aristocratic states in the 4th century B.C. In addition to these states Jayaswal mentions the existence of Yaudheyas, the Araṭṭas, the Śāyaṇḍas, the Gopālvas and the Kauṇḍībṛsas.

A good many of these smaller states lost their independence and accepted the overlordship of the Mauryan empire. Only the bigger states like the Vṛjis remained independent. In rock-edicts of Aśoka a few other states are also mentioned. Certainly, Raṣṭrikas, Bhojas and the Pitinkas had republican constitutions, We find a similar system of government among the Gāndhāras, the Nabhakas and the Nabhapanktis and the Yavanas. The Andhras and the Pulindas must have been having a similar type of government.

The stronger republics must have resented the imperial domination of the *Mauryas* but at the time of the *Suṅgas* a few new states came into existence. The establishment of the northern Satrap at Mathurā compelled the stronger republics to migrate to Rajputana.[1] The Yaudheyas, the Madras, the Mālavas and the Śibis who had breathed in free air and lived independently, considered it below their dignity to continue to live at the place which was being subdued by others. It is for this reason that they left their original home of fertile and prosperous Punjab and migrated to the desert-regions of Rajputana for dignified living and comparative safety. The Arjunāyanas also, who came into prominence at the time of the Suṅgas, migrated to Rajputana. The Vamatha and the Śālaṅkāyanas are also supposed to have been founded when the Mauryan empire declined. The Kukaras and the Sudras remained in their original homes in the Punjab and the Vṛṣṇis also lived in Mathurā where they had been living previously.

There is not the least doubt about the issue of their own coins by a good number of these republican states. The earliest coins which they issued were punch-marked coins. But it is quite vague and therefore difficult to ascribe them to different states. The data available to us at present are insufficient to help us specially in the identification of these tribal coins—

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1. Chakrabortty, S.K., JPRAS, Vol-II (1936), p-33.

although their coins were die-struck with their legends embossed on them. Many of the tribes like the *Madras*, a contemporary of *Samudragupta*, however, did not take any interest in this novel development in coinage and refrained from minting their own coins either with their legends or without.

The tribes with republican forms of government about whose identity we are sure, and who issued their own coins, are given below[1] :—

(1) The Arjunāyanas
(2) The Aśvakas
(3) The Audumbaras
(4) The Kulūṭas
(5) The Kuṇindas
(6) The Mahārāja Janapadas
(7) The Mālavas
(8) The Śibis
(9) The Nāgas
(10) The Rājanya Janapadas
(11) The Vimakas
(12) The Vṛṣṇis
(13) The Uddehikas and
(14) The Yaudheyas.

As we have no reference to, or record of, the Vimakas elsewhere, we have to depend upon these coins to know about their existence.

From the coin legends we also know the political organisations of the tribal republics of ancient India. Some of the republics issued their coins in the name of the Gaṇa, e.g. the Yaudheyas,[2] the Mālavas,[3] the Arjunāyanas and others. Some of the Yaudheya coins were issued in the name of the Gaṇa and their *Maṅtradhārs*[4] or the Executive Councils, while the Vṛṣṇi coins were issued in the name of the Rājanya and Gaṇas. S.K. Chakrabortty[5] also relies on Jayaswal who asserts that the constitutional significance of the word *Rājanya* means 'the leaders of the families consecrated to rulership' among the Vṛṣṇis who had perhaps an aristocratic constitution. Thus we find that the republics also issued their coins in the name of their executive heads e.g. *Rājanya Mahamitasa* (of the Rājanya or President Mahāmitra) and such others.[6]

The non-monarchical states who had flourished up to the time of the Gupta period of whom we know from Pāṇini,

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[1] Allan, J., Op. cit.

[2] Allan, J., Op. cit., 'Introduction', p-cii, cv.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. cit., pp-83, 151, 181.

[5] Chakrabortty, S.K , Op. cit., p-35.

[6] Jayaswal. K.P., Op., cit., p-160; Cunningham, A., Op. cit., p-69, Pl-IV, fig-8, 9.

Buddhist literature, Kauṭilya and Greek accounts, disappear in the 5th century A.D., and for this perhaps the imperial Guptas were mainly responsible.

3. NUMISMATICS : SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

Multifarious is the proved utility of Numismatics in the exploration of our ancient history. It has helped us greatly in knowing almost everything about our ancestors and their struggle with the foreigners, the effects of their mixing-up with them, their contemporary problems and their rise and fall. Facts which eventually become the foundation of our final opinion about the contemporary political and economic condition of ancient India, are transpired by the study of numismatics of the period under review. Here, a critical examination of the scope of this science is being aimed at.

There are, of course, certain factors which limit the scope of numismatics. They have also been described briefly.

(i) Knowledge of contemporary history

From the coins of Arjunāyana, Mālava, the Yaudheya, the Audumbara and the Kuṇinda, available to us, we learn that during the 2nd century B.C., republican form of government was prevalent in the eastern Punjab and north-western Rajputana. The most ancient punch-marked coins of India also reveal the same fact. The rulers of the republics and also the śreṇis and the guilds used to rule as per democratic principles.

From the Indian literature (*Pātañjali's Mahābhāṣya*), we know only about *Menander* (Milinda) whereas we learn about the rest of the foreign rulers from coins.

The other significant fact is that besides knowing the period of their rule and their genealogy, we ascertain the complete history of the *Śaka-Kshatrapas* from their coins. Their coins have the singular novelty in the history of coinage of the whole human race itself, as dates appear for the first time on them. Imitating these coins of the Śaka-Kshatrapas, the Gupta kings also issued their own coins in western India. From this it appears that the foreign Śakas were driven away by the Gupta rulers from that area. The political tradition of the victorious kings or tribes to confiscate and melt the coinage of the defeated kings or tribes and enforce their own, is almost universal.

We come across the word '*Negama*' in ancient literature. The coins and seals discovered at Taxilā, Vaisālī, Bhīṭā and Nālandā etc. also unmistakably refer to the 'Naigamas' or 'Janapadas'. And, here we have a convincing proof of the fact that the references to historical facts in literature are corroborated by the coins and vice-versa. The two are therefore complementary historical records.

Altekar has deciphered several contemporary coins of Kauśāmbī and has discovered the lineage of 9 rulers, not known to historians up to this time. Similarly, there are many unexplored historical events for which we have to depend upon this precious and invaluable material.

The Aśvamedha type of coins of the Gupta period had been minted to commemorate the great event of their victory. We infer from the coins portraying Samudragupta on horseback and engrossed in Shikar that this great warrior king peacefully lived after defeating the enemy.

On the coins of the mediaeval period we see the figure of a king on horse-back on the obverse and the figure of an ox on the reverse. This depicts the fact that the king remained absorbed in battles and struggles.

The figure of a ship or boat appears on one of the coins of *Yāñjaśrī Śātakarnī*, whereby it is conceived that the Andhra king had sway over the seas. Sea-trade also must have flourished during his rule. With the idea of commemorating this fact he might have got this inscription portrayed on his coins.[1]

In the first century A.D. the Kuṣāṇas spread their supremacy right from Peshawar to *Kāśī* and the western Kshatrapas occupied Malwa etc. because of which the importance of the Gaṇas vanished for some time. After the fall of the Kuṣāṇas in the 3rd century A.D., Gaṇas again came to power and they declared independence.[2] As a token of this declaration, these Gaṇas started the manufacture of coins bearing their own names.

In the 4th century A.D., Samudragupta overpowered all these Gaṇas and annexed them in his own empire. These Saṁghas thus vanished for ever. On the basis of this description, it can be inferred that the Gaṇas or the Saṁghas

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1. Upadhyaya, B., 'Bhāratīya Sikke', p-42.
2. Majumdar and Altekar, 'The Vākāṭaka Gupta Age', p-27.

existed from the 4th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. (about 800 years).

The coins of the Gupta-age reveal the soundness of the economy of that time. During the 4th and the 5th centuries A.D., there was such tremendous increase in the foreign trade of India that countless gold-coins started pouring into this country for its fine and superior merchandise, particularly from Rome.[1] Plini (Gaius Plinius Secundus A.D. 23-79), the Roman scholar better known as the Elder Plini could not tolerate this exploitation of Roman gold, and had to openly denounce and discourage the copious life of the Romans because the luxurious commodities were purchased by the Romans from India at the cost of this precious metal (gold) of that country.

By assaying the ancient coins, conclusions can be drawn about the prevailing economic condition. Pure gold or pure silver coins signify the soundness of economy of the period, while their mixtures and the proportion of their alloy denote the proportionate economic bankruptcy of a ruler or a state. The gold coins of Chandragupta and Samudragupta were of pure gold while the gold coins of Skandagupta contained mixture of other metals, as during this period there had been decline in the foreign trade. The attacks of the Hūṇas also drained his resources to a great extent. These events ultimately affected the coinage policy of the king adversely. Although the king kept-up the weight of the *Suvarṇa* at 80 *Rattis*, he could not maintain the purity of the metal because of deteriorating economic situation.

But, in spite of all the above, there are some limitations also. So far as our dependency upon them for certain historical facts is concerned, we have to be very careful.

We cannot correctly assess the extent of the empire of a ruler by the prevalence of a particular brand of coin in a particular area. A king or a tribe used to mint coinage for use in own territory but there are numerous instances in history, which show that coins happened to travel far beyond their territorial limits.

There are evidences when the power of minting and enforcing currency was vested in the Military Generals employed in campaigns at far off places. This power was sometimes bestowed

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1. JNSI, Vol-XVI (1954), p-10.

upon the Governors of distant provinces by the central authority. It used to be simply a delegation of power for the convenience of administration. But, later it was mistaken to be an attribute of political independence.

Over-struck coins are bound to create the confusion of the violent succession of kingship either by victory, betrayal or forcible toppling. But this is also possible that the lawful and peaceful heir of the lineage might have got this over-striking done. The over-struck coins contain the previous marks beneath the new impressions. This phenomenon could sometimes occur when the kings or governments might have decided to put their own marks on the coins received from foreign states either as tributes or as captured booty.

The one rupee coins as also the 50 paise coins bearing the figure of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was the Prime Minister of India from 1947 to 1964, were issued after his death in 1964 by the Government of India to commemorate his great service to the nation and to appreciate the sacrifices made by him in the struggle for our freedom. This issue of coins bearing the figure of a Prime Minister was absolutely inconsistent with democratic traditions. Although this was done simply to depict the deep love and reverence that the Indian nation had for this great leader, a confusion may arise in the minds of future generations and future numismatists who may wrongly interpret that Nehru might have been a king who ruled in India.

There could have been certain races in the ancient times who might not have taken much interest in minting their own coins very seriously. Their existence may be provided in future by other documentary evidences, as there is no trace of their coinage at present.

Care should be taken to distinguish a 'hoard' from a 'treasure', as a hoard cannot always be a cross-section of the currency of its period. The accumulation could contain the coinage of a long period also. Finer coins are hoarded as they contain good metal of value and the ones having alloy content of a less costly metal, remain in constant use and are bound to be lost. Thus the fact that the surviving hoard contain the best coins, cannot justify the fact that there could not have been their inferior companions along with them, when they were in current use.

In view of the above, we have to depend upon coins for our deductions about historical facts, only to the extent of their scope. A tiny small piece of metal cannot contain on itself a whole chapter of the history of the time and therefore inferences should be drawn judiciously.

(ii) Palaeography of the Coins

Palaeography is the science which deals with the study of ancient writings and inscriptions. It helps us to know about the names and existence of the ancient kings, about whom there is no other record left. Besides this, they further help us in the finalisation of the dynastic list, arriving at the choronology and also the geographical extent of the ruling power.

The mark, whose presence constitutes a coin, is spoken of by numismatists as a 'type' while the word 'symbol' is used to denote any secondary device which may appear side by side with the main type without being connected with it organically. A symbol may become a type if it can constitute a coin by itself either independently or by being organically associated with a type.[1]

The fundamental difference between a type and a symbol is the subservience of the latter to the former. Symbols may be simply decorative and ridiculous or may convey some meaning. They sometimes indicate a mint-master, governor of a mint, a satrap, a magistrate or even the name of the engraver. Symbols have proved their utility in distinguishing the species of one genus of coin with the other.

The earliest inscribed coin of the West was found at *Helicarnassus*. It is supposed to have been struck in the 6th century B.C. at *Ephesus*. *Electum* coins (coins made of the alloy of gold and silver) found there, are the foundation of the above inference. The legend meaning—'I am the badge of Phanes'—is found embossed in a circular form around the figure of a stag.[2]

Stone inscriptions, rock-edicts and legends found on ancient coins are the main sources of ancient Indian history. From the legends of the ancient coins, we have an idea of the prevailing Indian scripts. Inscribed scripts were first of all found on the coins of the North-West provinces. This was in Greek and Kharoṣthī. Archaeologists prepared the alphabets of Kharoṣthī script on the basis of the above inscriptions. Brāhmī script was also extracted through the decipherment of the inscriptions on such coins on which Brāhmī script was used on one side and Kharoṣthī on the other, as the same content was found embossed on both the sides.

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[1] Narain, A.K., JNSI, Vol-XVIII, p-159.

[2] Head, B.V., 'The Coins Of The Ancients', p-4 (No. 7).

The origin of the inscribed coins in India dates back to the 3rd century A.D. In the determination of chronology, maximum palaeographical considerations are done. Historians are divided in their opinion about the introduction of palaeography on Indian coins. Some opine that Indian coins were having their own palaeography from before, while Prof. Rapson is of the view that legends appeared on Indian coins as a result of Greek influence in the North-West.[1] We are sure about the fact that in course of business and commerce, Athenian, Seleucid and Bactrian coins found their way into India. Coins of Alexander and Philip Arrhidaeus[2] have been unearthed recently at Taxilā.

We have to give some weight to such conclusions when we come across Mauryan coins. They kept on the tradition of their punch-marked coins *withouti nscriptions* as they looked down upon the inscriptions on coinage and considered it to be an inferior attitude to accept the domination of foreigners in this regard.

Ordinarily, the genitives contained the personal names and the names of the kings but there are some examples when they have apeared in nominatives also[3] :—

1. Tribal names	Malaya, Mālaya or Malavas
2. Personal names	Mala (probably the name of the king who founded the Mālava tribe)
3. Place names	Tripurī and others.

By the side of the type, ordinarily, inscriptions appeared but the Mālavas started the tradition of putting their legends on one side of the coins and the type on the other. Most probably they did so because their coins were too small and could not contain both the things on one side. The coins of the Audumbaras, the Kulūṭas, the Kuṇindas, the Vimakas and the Vṛṣṇis had on them both tribal names and the names of the ruling princes side by side in the legends.[1]

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[1] Rapson, E.J., CHI, Vol-I., p-61.

[2] ASIAR (1924-25), pp-47-48.

[3] Chakrabortty, S. K., Op. cit., p-48.

Brāhmī alphabet was used by the Arjunāyana, the Aśvaka, the Mahārāja Janapada, the Nāga, the Śibi and the Uddehika tribes because of the prevalence of that alphabet at that time. The coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas (Amoghabhūti type) and the Kulūṭas contain both Brāhmī and Kharoṣthī scripts. Of course, some of the Rājanya Mahārāja Janapada and some of the Kuṇinda coins had either both Brāhmī and Kharoṣthī or only Brāhmī or Kharoṣthī scripts on them. According to Prof. Rapson, Kharoṣthī was prevalent in Eastern Afghanistan and in the northern regions of the Punjab while about Brāhmī, he confers: '...as far as Bhavalpur in south-west, Mathurā in south and Kangra in south-west.'[2] In course of time, the legends on the bi-lingual coins started being curtailed. 'In the Kulūṭa coins of the 1st or the 2nd centuries A.D., the Brāhmī legend—*Rajña Kolutasya Vīrayaśasya* on the obverse is complete but on the reverse, occurs only the title *Raña* and the rest of the legend is omitted.'[3]

From the study of Chatreśvara type of coins of the Kuṇindas, it appears that by the 2nd century A.D., Brāhmī asserted itself. Kharoṣthī was completely out of use in the 3rd century A.D. The excavations of Taxilā reveal that it was in popular use till the middle of the 5th century A.D.[4] S.K. Chakrabortty opines that the language of the inscription on the coins was Prākṛt, which happened to be the popular dialect of the time. Avoidance of harsh consonantal combinations e.g. *Yodheyana* (*Yaudheyānāṁ*), *Mālavaṇa Jaya*, *Mālavāṇa Jaya*, etc., *Raña Kuṇidasa Amoghabhatisa Maharajasa* and such others can now be clearly seen.[5]

When we examine the coins of the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas, we come to the conclusion that the classical Saṅskrit took the place of Prākṛt legends in the 2nd century A.D.

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1. Chakrabortty, S.K., Op. cit., p-49.
2. Rapson, E.J., CICAD, p-civ.
3. Chakrabortty, S.K., Op. cit., p-52.
4. Rapson, E.J., CHI, Vol-I, p-657.
5. Chakrabortty, S.K., Op. cit., p-52.

The Greek rulers of India started minting of coins in their conquered territories. It became necessary for them to use the current language and alphabet of that area. Even today we find that this tradition is maintained on our currency. Writing the names of the kings in the language of the people also became necessary and this also was done by the Greek rulers. It was the Greek king Appollodotus, who used Kharoṣthī script[1] for the first time on his coinage in 140 B.C. and also got the image of Nandin inscribed on the coins.

The square copper coins of *Demetrius* of the Indo-Greek series, contain the earliest coin legends that have yet been found in Gāndhārian letters. The language of the inscription is definitely Indian. They bear the Indian titles *Mahārāja* and *Aparajita.*

In place of Kharoṣthī, we find Brāhmī script on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles,[2] but the script could not remain in use as Brāhmī was not popular in the North-West. Agathocles' quarter-circle pieces contain the name of the king in Gāṇḍhārian letters as—Akathukreasa, while the Indian legends give—Agathukleasa. In some of the early coins of Taxilā which have Negamā in Indian characters and Nekama in Gāndhārian characters, 'K' has been changed for 'G.'[3]

Besides the above corrupt Greek legends with some Indian letters in the field are found embossed on almost all the coins which can be attributed to the 3rd century A.D.

In the 1st century B.C., the Pahlavas and the Śaka rulers in the Taxilā and Gandhara provinces, for the first time, got their coins embossed with their names including their titles. The script was changed from Kharoṣthī to Brāhmī when the Śaka Kshatrapas started ruling over Malwa and Surāṣṭra. The names of the rulers used to the embossed in a circular form on the coins. It was probably Saṅskrit language in use at that time. An inscription of Mahākshatrapa Rūdradāman at Girināra is available today in Brāhmī script which is supposed to be the first inscription of the Saṅskrit language.

Kujula and Wema Kadphises started the use of the prevalent language Kharoṣthī, but it is really surprising to note that

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1. Narain, A.K., IG, p-124; PMC Nos. 102, 120, and 128.
2. Ibid., p-63.
3. Cunningham, A., CAI, p-36.

Kaniṣka, the great Kuṣāṇa king, again adopted Greek-script All his successors and the later-Kuṣāṇas gave impetus to the Greek alphabet and language.

Names of the Hindu gods also used to be written in the Greek language. Maheśsa has been written as 'O H P O'. Title in Greek language was written as :—'*Bacileus Bacilean Magloi*' while in Prākṛt and Kharoṣthī—'*Mahatajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa.*' It can be interpreted to be '*Mahārājasya Rājarājasya Mahataḥ*' in Sanskrit.

With the advent of the Gupta emperors, developments and changes started taking place in all spheres of life. Sanskrit was adopted as the language of the coins. Inscriptions were not done in simple, crude and primitive styles and languages, rather all of them were organised and re-arranged in verse-style :—

'*Samarasata Vitata Vijayi, Jita Ripu Rajito Divaṁ Jayati*'

and

'*Rājādhirāja Pṛthiviṁ Vijityā, Divaṁ Jayatā Hata Vajimedhaḥ.*'

It appears from these inscriptions that Sanskrit became the national language during this period. This is the first example of verse-style inscriptions on coins. After the Guptas this tradition vanished as the smaller states started the use of Brāhmī on their coins. The Hūṇa kings also used this language in the 5th century A.D.[1]

Finally, Nāgarī alphabet and script were given place by the Chaṇḍelas of Bundelkhand, the Kalachuris of the Central Provinces and also by the kings of the Rajputana. This is clear from the study of the coins of Govindachandradeva who initiated it, later adopted by other kings. His script is almost similar to Devanāgarī and the language can be taken to be primitive or primary-Hindi.

And thus we learn a good deal about the development of Gupta script from Brāhmī and also its other variants. Mediaeval Devanāgarī is, as a matter of fact, an offspring of the same. Palaeography of the coins helps us in knowing about the origin of Indian scripts.

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[1] For details about the Hūṇa coinage, see Thakur, U., 'The Hūṇas in India', pp-277-98.

Yet, for inferences being drawn completely based upon the inscriptions of coinage alone, we must consider the following aspects which limit the *scope of palaeography* of the coins :—

1. There are certain types of the coins of some rulers and tribes which were so small that they could not contain any epigraphical record at all, but were contemporary legal-tender of the state (Mālava's 1.7 grain copper coin).
2. To accommodate the kings' names on the coins it is just possible that the names might have been greatly reduced.
3. In praise of certain issuing-authority, the inscriptions of the coins could be enlarged to much larger size thus misguiding the historians in the knowledge of the correct designations of the issuing authorities.
4. They may contain the appreciation or false-praise of a particular king to amuse him or keep silent about the other, deserving great.
5. They may be issued to commemorate great events and may contain such propaganda of an absolutely imaginary nature—not known and supported elsewhere in any other record.

4. METALLURGY

All countries which started the manufacture of coins, had at first to choose the metals which were readily available within their territory. This limitation was, of course, overcome when the inter-state commerce developed. They had resorted to imports of such metals which were not indigenously produced by them. Here, in our country also, the same phenomenon prevailed in the beginning.

The chief metals used for the manufacture of the ancient Indian coins were gold, silver, copper, lead and to a lesser extent, tin.

Kauṭilya[1] has given a very detailed description of the metallurgical knowledge of the contemporary Indians. The expert observers of that time could decide the presence, nature and richness of the ores from their colour, smell and taste.

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[1] Kauṭilya, AS, Ed. Śāmaśāstrī, Chapters 12 & 13.

During the process of extracting gold from ores, various odd things such as Kandali (mushroom), ashes of barley, black beans, palasa (Butea-frondosa), pilu (Carnea-asborea), milk of cow and sheep, cow's teeth and cow's horn were added at different stages. The addition of some of the ingredients during this process is definitely having some scientific value while the others are supposed to be meaningless by the present metallurgists.

Gold was known to the Indus-valley civilisation. Of course, this metal came in the shape of regular coins during the Kuṣāṇa period only.[1] The southern area of the Indian peninsula supplied the bulk. A part of its requirement might have come from Tibet also.[2] This conjecture is supported by the fact that much of the gold from Mohenjodaro and Harappa is found alloyed with silver, which is a characteristic of the gold obtained from the Kolar gold-fields of Mysore. It was extracted from gold-bearing earth by washing the ore. It is believed that it was found in the form of nuggets (piṇḍa) also.

During the Ṛg Veda and later literature, it has been called by the names given below :—

i—Hiraṇya
ii—Harita (Yellowish)
iii—Rajata (Whitish)[3]
Gold from South-India (Peninsular region) is understood to have been called by this name.
iv—Chandra[4]
v—Jatarupa[5]

We, however, fail to identify the source of gold (and also silver) of the Maurya period as their description in the Arthaśāstra is unintelligible.[6] Jambunada, Satakumbha and Sringasuktija golds are also mentioned in the Arthaśāstra. Their sources have been said to be Jambunada, Satakumbha

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1. Roychoudhury, C., IHQ, Vol-XXXVIII. No. 1, p-117.
2. JNSI, Vol-XVI, (1954), p-9.
3. Vedic Index-II, pp-504-5.
4. Ibid., p-215.
5. Ibid., I, p-281.
6. Kauṭilya, AS, Op. cit., p-92.

and Sringāsukti respectively but these names of places related to the origin of the metal, have not been identified so far.

Hāṭaka is synonym for gold in Sanskrit language. This Hāṭaka can be identified with western Tibet and hence Hāṭaka gold should be considered to mean Tibetan gold, obtained from Rudok and Thok-jalung.

Central Asian tribes brought gold as referred to in the Mahābhārata.[1] It was Pipilika-gold. This recalls to our mind the ant-gold of Herodotus, Megasthenes, Plini and Aelian. It is supposed to have come from Kashmir, Afghanistan and the eastern borders of Dardistan.[2] Some scholars consider it to be Tibetan gold obtained by the gold-washers from the sources of the Indus. Laufer thinks that this gold was of Siberian origin and that it was brought in India by the Mongols.[3]

As per Mahāvastu[4] we know about the 'Suvarṇa-Dhobaka' (gold-washers) guilds. The Jain Rājatarangini of the Jona-Rāja mentions that a levy of 1/6 of the proceeds as excise, was imposed on the gold obtained by the gold-washers from river-sand. This testifies the fact that gold was procured in India from alluvial sources also. This appears to be identical with the aboriginal method of procuring gold from the sand of the river Suvarṇarekhā of Bengal which was practised till recently but has been abandoned now, because the process has proved to be uneconomical.

As regards silver, Cunningham presumes that India produced very little silver and as such, depended upon imports for this metal.[5] But there are references contradicting his opinion. It has been referred to have been mined in the Kulu valley, the Manbhum area (now forming a district of West Bengal) and Deogarh in the Santhal Parganas of Bihar.[6] But the demand could not be completely met by indigenous sources and therefore Indians had to resort to imports from Afghanistan and Persia.[7] 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea'[8] contains

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1. Mbh. II-48,3.
2. JNSI, Vol-XVI (1954), p-9.
3. Ibid.
4. Mahāvastu, III, p-113.
5. Cunningham, A., CAI, p-5.
6. Elliot, 'Coins of Southern India', p-51.
7. Jeremiah, X-9.
8. Schoff, W.W., 'The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,' pp-38. 42, 44, 287.

references in support of the above fact. Indigenous production was very low because silver-ore used to be associated with lead. It is one of the reasons of its high price always in India, as compared to its price in the western countries. In the Vedic literature, silver was called 'Rajata' also.[1]

In the Arthaśāstra,[2] mentions have been made of Tutthogat variety of silver. This is said to have come from mountain Tuttha, but this Tuttha is unknown to us. The Gaudika and the Kambu varieties of silver came probably from Burma and Afghanistan respectively. There was yet another variety of silver called Chakravalika, about the origin of which we are still in dark.

In ancient India, the earliest coins were of copper. Copper is known to have been produced indigenously from ore found throughout the country though it is no longer extensively produced in India.[3] Perhaps 'Ayas' and 'Lohā' denote copper. There is every likelihood of its having been imported from foreign countries.[4]

According to Prof. Rapson,[5] silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and circulated in certain districts. A copper currency was not necessarily auxiliary to silver. Copper standard prevailed in some districts while a silver standard prevailed in others.

Lead came from Ajmer (Rajasthan) and from the silver mines of Persia and Afghanistan. The other name given to lead was 'Śiśā'.[6] It was imported from Spain through the ports of Barygaza and Muziris during the rule of Śatavāhana kings for their coinage.

Tin, which in the Indus valley civilisation occurs as an alloy of copper, might have been obtained in the form of Cassiterits occurring in the Bombay, Bihar and Orissa areas, although there is evidence to show that this metal was in short supply. It has been called 'Trapu' also, in the Vedic literature.[7] Through the port of Barygaza it came to India from the west.[8]

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1. Vedic Index-II, p-452.
2. Kauṭilya, Op. cit., p-93.
3. Chakrabortty, S.K., JPRAS, Vol-II (1936), p-41.
4. JNSI, Vol-XVI, p-10.
5. Rapson, E.J., CICAD, p-clxxix.
6. Vedic Index-I, 31, II, 452.
7. Ibid., 31, 336.
8. Schoff, W.W., Op. cit.

The tribes which issued their own coins normally depended on copper because copper was available in the country at that time. But several tribes issued silver coins also. The tribes which mainly based their coins on copper only were :—

1. The Arjunāyanas
2. The Aśvaks
3. The Kulūṭas
4. The Śibis
5. The Uddehikas
6. The Rājanyas
7. The Nāgas
8. The Mālavas and
9. The Mahārāja Janapada

With the exception of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas who used both silver and copper, the above noted tribes did not use two different metals for the manufacture of their coins.[1]

Besides copper, the following tribes issued silver coins also[2] :—

1. The Audumbaras	37.5 grains (Dharaghosha's coins)
2. The Kuṇindas	from 30.8 to 34.2 grains (Smith's catalogue)
3. The Vimakas	
4. The Vṛṣṇi	32 grains
5. The Yaudheyas	26 grains (Cunningham's CAI, Pl-VI, fig. 9, p-78).

As the issuing authorities were not very particular about maintaining the exactness in the weights of their coins, the coins varied in weight. The variations in the weight of the coins can be attributed to the relative value of copper and silver also, from time to time. The purity of the alloy too was not given proper attention. The ingredients and the content of alloy cannot therefore be certified with confidence.

In the manufacture of coins a certain amount of alloy is very essential. It helps the coins to have a hard and strong shape. Kauṭilya suggests 31.25% of alloy for silver coins and 25% of alloy for copper coins. According to him the different metals used as alloy in the manufacture of silver coins were[3] :—

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[1] Chakrabortty, S.K., Op. cit., p-42.
[2] Ibid., pp-37, 42.
[3] Kauṭilya, Op. cit., pp-98, 105, 107, 109 and 110.

1. Tāmra (Copper)
2. Tikshaṇa (Iron)
3. Trapu (Tin)
4. Śīśā (Lead)
5. Añjana (Antimony)

On the examination of 113 silver Kārṣāpaṇas, Cunningham found that the alloy varied from 13.8% to 24.8%. The content of silver in them was therefore 86.2% and 75.2% respectively.[1] The amount of alloy probably depended upon the comparative prosperity of the state or the tribes. The earliest silver coins of India—the Purāṇas or Dharanas contained about 20% alloy.[2]

Smith mentions the use of yet other varieties of metals. He has referred to a few specimens viz. one Audumbaras' coin and six Kuṇinda coins of brass and four other Rājanya coins which are of either brass or pale-bronze.[3]

It has been asserted by S.K. Chakrabortty that the weights of these tribal silver coins were based on the Indo-Persian standards and not on the Indian standards of the Purāṇas or the Dharanas.[4]

Some of the tribal states followed the weight standard of the Kārṣāpaṇas (80 Rattis) for copper coins. The extant coins varied in weight because of the variation in the weight of Ratti in different parts of the country.

It is very difficult to infer about the weight standard on which the copper coins belonging to the Śibis, the Rājanyas and the Mālavas were based.

Coins of the Mālavas are considerably smaller in size as compared with the coins of the other tribes. Their weight ranges between 1.7 grains to 40.3 grains. Coin No. 106 of the catalogue of Smith is 1.7 grains in weight. It is perhaps the smallest coin in the world.

The copper coins can be divided into two classes :—

1. Monometallic
2. Bimetallic

Both these systems prevailed on the basis of monetary principles. The former—Monometallic coins stand apart by themselves while the latter the Bimetallic ones varied in the relative value of the two metals, namely, silver and copper. This adds to complications in finding out the prevailing monetary system.

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[1] Quoted in Bhandarkar, D.R., Op. cit., p-157.
[2] Smith, V.A., CCIM, p-133.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Chakrabortty, S.K., Op. cit., p-37.

About the importance of the two metals, S.K. Chakrabortty can be quoted. He writes[1]:—

> "Even copper appears to have fetched a good value in the beginning, but the advent of silver in large quantities, particularly after the introduction of foreign coinage under the Persian, Indo-Greek and Parthian influence, relegated copper to a subordinate position."

The Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas followed the Bimetallic system. The eight silver coins of the Kuṇindas have an average weight of 32.6 grains (Smith's Catalogue) but No. 12; a brass coin, weighs 144 grains. As copper coins are subject to greater chances of decay by erosion, wear and tear they can be presumed to weigh 5 times more than the silver coins, thereby bringing them at par with the contemporary coins of silver although it is certain that the relative value of silver and copper must not have remained constant. The ratio might have therefore remained fluctuating.

So far as copper coinage is concerned, most of the states which were economically handicapped could not resort to gold and silver coinage for a long time. They could not thus imitate the prevailing imperial coinage of the Kuṣāṇas. Even after the adoption of the silver coinage by most of them, they had to discontinue, as this metal proved to be a great hindrance and added an element of complexity to the merchants who had monetary transactions outside the tribal areas. For them the simplest and most convenient thing was to drop the use of silver and to stick to copper which could be readily exchanged with their Kuṣāṇa counterparts and linked up with the gold coinage of the imperial Kuṣāṇas. This facilitated the growth of their inter-state trade.

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[1] Chakrabortty, S.K., 'A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics', pp-76-78.

The Yaudheyas

2

1. ORIGIN AND GROWTH

Like many other tribes of ancient India, the Yaudheyas were very famous. In reality the word *Yaudheya* is a derivative from the word '*Yodha*' which means—war and therefore the word Yaudheyas means a class of warriors.[1] They were principally fighters and were renowned for their great skill in the art of fighting. It is for this reason that they are properly named—'The Yaudheyas'.

As per reference in the *Mahābhārata*, the Yaudheyas can safely be attributed to be related to *Yudhishthira*. Yudhishthira, the eldest of the *Pāṇḍavas*, had a great significance so far as his tribal and historical references are concerned.[2] The name—Yudhishthira itself appears to have relation with the word '*Yudha*' which means fighting, *Pāṇini* also supports this fact.[3]

Yudhishthira won the hands of princess *Devikā*, daughter of the *Śaibya* king, *Govāsan* in a *Śvayaṁvara*.[4] He begot a son named Yaudheya from her. This Yaudheya is supposed to be the founder of this tribe. This has been accepted by Cunningham[5] also.

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1. 'Age of Imperial Unity', Edited by R.C. Majumdar, p-165.
2. Buddhaprakash, PSMAP, p-103.
3. Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 95.—गवि युद्धिस्थिरः ।
4. Mbh. Ādiparva, Ch-95, Verse-76 :

   युद्धिष्टिरस्तु गोवासनस्य शैव्यस्य देविकां नाम कन्यां स्वयंवरांल्लेभे ।
   तस्यां पुत्रं जनयामास यौधेयं नाम ॥
5. Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-141.

The *Brahmapurāṇa* and the *Harivaṁśa* contain references assigning *Nṛga*, the son of *Uśīnara* (the younger brother of Śibi), to be the ancestor of the Yaudheyas.[1] In the Harivaṁśa, mention has been made about the five queens of Uśīnara. He begot 5 sons from them and it were these 5 sons who later became the rulers of the following five provinces :—

1. Śibi.
2. Yaudheyas.
3. Navarāṣtra.
4. Kṛmilā and
5. Ambaṣtha.

They maintained good relations among themselves as they were real brothers.[2] The *Trigarttas* also were 5 brothers who had enmity with the Pāṇḍavas with whom they used to be at war every now and then.[3]

The great celebrated grammarian, Pāṇini, derives the word 'Yudhishthira' from 'Yudha'.[4] He is silent about the parentage of the Yaudheyas. It appears that he has dealt with this word on linguistic basis only. He mentions that they were like *Parsus* or *Persians* and counts them among the 'Āyudhajīvin-Saṁgha' i.e. the people who were professional warriors. At another place, Pāṇini mentions the Yaudheyas :—

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[1] Wilson's note in VP on the sons of Uśīnara, of Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Ch-III-74, Vāyupurāṇa, Ch-99, Brahmapurāṇa, Ch-13, Matasyapurāṇa, Ch-48, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Ch-17 etc. and Harivaṁśa, Ch-32, Pargiter's Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, p-380.

[2] उशीनरस्यं पत्न्यस्तु पञ्च राजर्षिवंशजाः ।
नृगा कृमी नवा दर्वा पञ्चमी च दृषद्वती ।। हरिवंश ।। ३१.२४ ।।
उशीनरस्य पुत्रास्तु पञ्च तासु कुलोद्वहाः ।
तपसा वैसुमहता जाता वृद्धस्य भारत ।। ,, ।। ३१.२५ ।।
नृगायास्तु नृगः पुत्रः कृम्यां कृमिर जायत ।
नवायास्तु नवः पुत्रो दर्वायाः सुव्रतोऽभवत् ।। ,, ।। ३१.२६ ।।
दृषद्वत्यास्तु संजज्ञे शिबिरौशीनरो नृपः ।
शिबेस्तु शिवयस्तात यौधेयास्तु नृगस्य ह ।। ,, ।। ३१.२७ ।।
नवस्य नवराष्ट्रं तु कृमेस्तु कृमिलापुरी ।
सुव्रतस्य तथाम्बष्ठा शिबिपुत्रालिबोध मे ।। ,, ।। ३१.२८ ।।
of Awasthi, ABL, 'Yaudheyon Kā Itihāsa, p-17.

[3] Mbh. Udyogaparva, 166-9.
त्रिगर्ता भ्रातरः पञ्च रथोदारा मता मम ।
कृत वैराश्च पार्थैस्ते विराट नगरे तदां ।।

[4] Pāṇini, VIII-3-95,

'*Na Prāchyadhargadiyaodhadhibhyaḥ*'[1]

An inference can be drawn from this, that the word Yaudheya is synonymous with Āyudhajīvin,[2] and are placed in the *Śaubhreya* group.[3]

Kauṭilya also interprets the Yaudheyas as '*Śastropajīvins*' as a warrior clan of the Punjab.[4]

On the basis of the Paurāṇic evidences, A.C. Banerji holds the view that the Yaudheyas were the descendants of Nṛga who was a king of the *Aila* race.[5] But he is silent about this Nṛga.

As per *Brahmapurāṇa* and *Harivaṁśa*. Cunningham states that *Nṛga* was the son of *Uśīnara* and younger brother of *Śibi*, who was the ancestor of the Yaudheyas.[6] He further affirms that a descendant of *Anu* called *Tṛna*, was the founder of the Yaudheyas. For this inference, Cunningham takes help from the two classes of coins which were found in abundance in the west of the river *Jamunā*.[7]

Besides the above, Cunningham says that they would have been the *Anvas*, i.e. the descendants of Anu whereas the son of Yudhishthira might have been a *Paurava* or descendant of *Puru*.[8] He further concludes that the differences are of no avail because, all the descendants of Uśīnara were located along the *Indus* and its tributaries, the *Sauviras* in Sindh and the *Madras* and *Kekayas* in the Punjab.

Pargiter[9] is of opinion that the *Purāṇa* connects the Yaudheya with Uśīnara who dominated eastern Punjab during the post-Vedic period and king Uśīnara was the founder of the

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1. Ibid., IV,-1-176.
2. Ibid., IA, Vol-I, p-23.
3. Ibid., V-3-114; JBORS, Vol-XX, p-163.
4. Kauṭilya, AS, Edited by Śāmaśāstrī, II- 35, p-142.
5. JBORS, Vol-XX, p-163.
6. Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-141; Wilson's note in VP.
7. Ibid., Vol-II, p-14.
8. Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-141.
9. Pargiter, F.E., Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, p-380.

kingdom of the Yaudheyas, *Ambaṣthas*, *Navarāṣṭras* and *Kṛmilās* and his sons colonised the town of *Śivapura*.[1]

In the *Droṇaparva* and the *Karṇaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, we find that the Yaudheyas are mentioned as having been associated with the *Trigarttas*, the *Mālavas*, the *Ambashthas* and the *Śibis*.[2] In the *Sabhāparva*, they are mentioned to have brought presents for Yudhishthira[3].

There is a similar sounding name of a tribe—'the *Yautiyas*' whom Buddhaprakash[4] refers to identify the Yaudheyas. In his opinion, the Yautiyas were none else than the Yaudheyas themselves. We have established the existence of the Yaudheyas during the Mahābhārata (1000 B.C.), and this proves that they might have existed even before 1000 B.C. Buddhaprakash himself accepts that the association of the Yaudheyas with Yudhishthira is based 'not only on linguistic considerations but is also founded on historical traditions', and he concludes that the Yaudheyas were stated to be the son of Yudhishthira.[5] The Yautiyas are considered to have figured in the *Volkerwanderung* of the Iranian speaking people which brought the *Medes* and *Persians* into Iran in about the 8th century B.C. Later, they got bifurcated into two wings. One of them penetrated into Punjab in the late 8th century B.C. through the north-western passes,[6] while the other went towards Iran and Transcaucasia. The Yautiyas in Iran and India were connected with the expansion of the Kurus. The association of Yudhishthira with the Yaudheyas, as we have already discussed, recalls the advent of these people in India during the age of the Kurus.

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[1] Pargiter, F.E., 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition', p-264.

[2] Mbh. Droṇaparva, Ch-18, Verse-6:

अथवा हर्षकालोऽयं त्रैगर्त्तानाम संशयम् ।
कुनरैर्दुर वापान्हि लोकान्प्राप्स्यन्त्यनुत्तमान् ।।

Karṇaparva, Ch-5, Verse-48:

मालवा मद्रकाश्चैव द्राविडाश्चोग्र कर्मिणः ।
यौधेयाश्च ललिन्पाश्च क्षुद्रका श्चोप्युशीनराः ।।

[3] Ibid., Sabhāparva, Ch-48, Verse-14-15 :

काश्मीराः कुन्दमानाश्च पौरका हंसकायनाः ।
शिबित्रिगर्त यौधेया राजन्या मद्रकेकयाः ।।

[4] PSMAP, p-105.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Arnold J. Toynbee, 'A Study of History', Vol-VII, pp-607-9.

During the course of an earlier migration, the forefathers of these Yautiyas had also adopted the same route and probably it were they, who happened to be the Yaudheyas (their ancestors).

This view of Buddhaprakash deserves consideration, when he argues that Yudhishthira is known to be the son of *Dharma*, which is also the sense of *Vahyzdata* who was a Yautiya chief. The similarity of the meaning of these two names may, of course, be accidental but in view of the connection of Yudhishthira with the Yaudheyas, about which we have discussed sufficiently and have arrived at a conclusion establishing a definite relation between them, the Yautiyas and the Yaudheyas may also be considered to be one and the same race.

The lineage of the Yaudheyas, therefore, might not have vanished, rather could have probably come down up to the time of Alexander's invasion (B.C. 326).

In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta they are included in the list of the contemporary powers who had paid homage to the Gupta monarch.[1]

The belief that the ancestor of the Yaudheyas was Yudhishthira,[2] has been contradicted by the mention of the war between the Yaudheyas and Yudhishthira, as they are said to have enmity with each other.[3]

But, having surveyed all the aspects of the above discussion, we have reason to believe, and confidence to affirm, that the Yaudheyas are definitely the descendants of Yudhishthira, because of the following :—

1. Linguistic support is the most convincing one. It must have sprung from the word 'Yudhishthira'. Yaudheyas is a clear derivative from the original proper noun and means a dynasty and not a singular person.

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1. Fleet, J.F., CII, Vol-III, No. 1, Lines 22-23
समतट दवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल कर्तृपुरादि प्रन्यन्त नृपतिभिर्मालवार्जुनायन यौधेयमाद्रकाभीरा प्रार्जुना सनकानिक काक खर्परिकादिभिस च सर्व्वकर दान आज्ञंकरण प्रणामागमन।
2. Altekar, A.S., JUPHS, Vol-XVI, Pt-I, p-56.
3. Mbh. Udyogaparva, 166-9.

2. The tribe has been found located in the Punjab which is actually the birth-place of the Pāṇḍavas, and thus, there is every likelihood of their having flourished in that locality for a considerable period.
3. The find-spots of the coins are situated in different places in the Punjab, which is not only presumed, rather established to have been administered by the Yaudheyas.
4. Yaudheya's appearance in the court of Yudhishthira with presents after their defeat by Nakula (Mbh Sabhāparva, Ch-52, Verse-14), can in no way stop us to think in the negative as it was and is even today, customary on the part of the defeated (kings or tribal heads) to bow down before their superior counterparts especially after a defeat in battle, no matter what actual social or family relation (here father and son) they had/have.
5. On the other hand, the mention of the battle between the Pāṇḍavas and the Yaudheyas as mentioned elsewhere in the Mahābhārata, also, cannot divert our opinion to infer in a different way. We are aware of the facts mentioned in the same Mahābhārata that *Draupadī* was insulted by her near relations (the Kauravas) in the presence, not only of her husbands (the Pāṇḍavas), rather in the presence of *Bhiṣmapitāmaḥ* also. *Abhimanyu* was mercilessly and treacherously killed by his uncles. Lord Kṛṣṇa, the brother-in-law of Arjuna (Kṛṣṇa's sister *Subhadrā* was married to Arjuna from whom Abhimanyu was born) and his great supporter, had an occasion to fight fiercely with their huge armies deployed against each other long after the Mahābhārata war.
6. Such fights between near-relatives is not a solitary example for the epics, as during the Rāmāyaṇa-period, we have the knowledge of the battle between *Lava* and *Kuśa* on one side and their father *Shrī Rāmċhandra* on the other, when in the capacity of the ruler of *Ayodhyā* Rāma wanted to perform the *Aśvamedha Yajña*.

And thus, the mention of the battle between the Yaudheyas and Yudhishthira or the Pāṇḍavas should be considered to be at par with similar strategy elsewhere, and as a fact of their usual life, however strange and unusual it may appear to us.

From the above attempts of the two main schools of concepts namely, the Paunāṇic evidence and the evidence of the Mahābhārata, it is revealed that the concepts about the origin of the Yaudheyas are indefinite conclusions of later Hindu sociologists who have attempted to arrive at a definite decision in their own individual ways, contradicting each other. This view is also supported by some recent writers on the subject.[1]

But, on the basis of their inferences, it appears to be quite difficult to arrive at an acceptable source of their origin, as each one of them is convincing, and each one has got its own background.

On the one hand, from the Mahābhārata, we learn about the marriage of Yudhishthira with *Devikā*, who gave birth to a son *Yaudheya*, who is supposed to be the founder of the tribe (as we have already discussed earlier), while on the other, we learn from the Viṣṇupurāṇa that *Yaudheyī* was the queen of Yudhishthira from whom he had a son named *Devaka.*[2] Yudhishthira had married the princess Yaudheyī in a Svayaṁbara. She was the Yaudheyī-princess according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, while the Mahābhārata mentions her as *Śaibya* princess.

The Yaudheyas are recorded in the Purāṇas as ancient *Kshatriyas*. It is they who checked the Kuṣāṇa supremacy at its western end, on the Sindh borders; and on the eastern end at Mathurā. Therefore they were popularly known as *Śūra-Vīra*'.[3]

The figure of cock on their coins has been taken by Cunningham[4] to be symbolic of fighting qualities. Pāṇini illustrates that the suffixes—'Yodha', 'Yodheya' and also 'Yaudheya' are all terms for a warrior.

The valour of the Yaudheyas is stated in the inscription of *Girināra* also, by *Mahākshatrapa Rūdradāman* who subdued them and although they were against each other, praised them in the following words :—

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[1] JNSI, Vol-XXVII, pt-II, p-103 ff.

[2] Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 20-44 (Geetā Press Ed).

[3] JBORS, Vol-XIX, pp-147-50.

[4] Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-143.

> 'Of the Yaudheyas rendered extremely proud by having manifested their title of heroes amongst all the Kshatriyas.'[1]

Had they not been good fighters, they would not have been praised by their staunch enemy like Rūdradāman. In his Junāgadh inscription, Rūdradāman boasts of having routed-out the Yaudheyas.[2] He does not claim the part of their dominion and it is presumed that his expedition was limited to plundering only. This campaign of Rūdradāman must have taken place before A.D. 150.[3]

Diodorus, the great historian, describes the Yaudheyas as—'they were a people inferior to none in India either in their numerical strength or in their bravery.'[4] He placed them to the bank of the river—'*Sambastoe*', which is in every likelihood the *Sutlej*.

Basing on these arguments, it can be said that the Yaudheyas were the founders of the town named '*Ajudhan*' or '*Ayodhanam*' the battle-field, as the name of this town corresponds with their name Yaudheyas, the warriors.[5] This fact is verified by the statement of *Arrian*,[6] also. Arrian affirms that *Ajudhiyas* were a free people who tendered their allegiance to Alexander at the confluence of the Punjab rivers. And as such the term—'*Ossodioi*' or '*Assodioi*' is as close to a rendering of Ajudhiyas as could be made in Greek character. The term *Sambastoe* of *Diodorus* and *Sambracoe* of *Curtius* have the same significance with the word—*Ossodioi* of *Arrian*.

Orosius[7] has called them *Sabagroe*. '*Wagar*' means a warrior. It thus appears that the word Sam + Wagari meant 'United warriors'. These *Samwagaris* occupied the areas situated on both the banks of the river *Sutlej* and lower *Doab* between the Sutlej.

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1. EI, Vol-VIII, p-44
   "सर्वक्षत्रांविष्कृत–वीर शब्दजातोत्सेका विधेयाना यौधेयानाम"
   cf JBORS, Vol-XX (1934), p-163.
2. JASB, Vol-VI, p-19.
3. Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-139.
4. Bk XVII, Ch-96, p-10.
5. Cunningham, A., 'Ancient Geography of India', p-208.
6. Quoted in Cunningham's AGI, p-208.
7. McCrindle, 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great', p-121.

The presence of this martial and strong tribe of the Yaudheyas in the terrain beyond the river Beas happened to be the actual, apparent and immediate cause of concern for Alexander. His army was greatly alarmed by the knowledge of these fierce fighters. Ultimately, Alexander had to retreat for fear of a definite reverse.

McCrindle[1] has described in his famous book—'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great', about the magnanimity of the military powers of an un-named tribal state situated on the Beas which was the cause of Alexander's fear. It was from the doors of this un-named republic that Alexander's ambitious campaign had to cut a sorry figure and had to assume the form of a retreat. As we have found many coins in this locality, belonging to the Yaudheyas, it is now definite that this un-named state under reference must have been the Yaudheya state only, the surviving successors of whom are considered to be the *Johiyās*, the *Bāgaris* and the *Bhatis*.

The time-lapse between the two great historic events (i.e. their presence during the Mahābhārata and also during the invasion of Alexander) is of not less than 2778 years.[2] It should either be surmised that they might have survived up to the Macedonian invasion or they must have been quite another clan who would have sprung from an altogether different origin.

But, we must not doubt the validity of the epic, as it has dealt with the growth, development etc. of the Yaudheyas at more than one occasion. And in these circumstances, we evidently hold that these Yaudheyas are no other than the descendants of Yudhishthira as mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

The great fort of *Batner* is in *Bāgardeśa* and Bikaner Rājā was called *Bāgari-Rao* by *Akbar*,[3] similarly *Bhata* also implies warriors who were living in *Jaisalmer* and as *Johiyā* too is regarded by them as one of the part and parcel of the united warriors—*Sambracoe*. These Johiyās are supposed to be the founders of *Johiyābār*.

The Yaudheyas not only survived the *Mauryan* empire and the *Suṅga* empire but also the *Satraps* and the *Kuṣāṇas*. When the Indo-Greek power started declining, the Yaudheyas started gaining momentum and became powerful. They were, however,

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1. Quoted in Cunningham, A., CAI, p-76.
2. According to Āryabhaṭṭa. Quoted in PHAI, p-27.
3. Cunningham, A., AGI, p-208.

submissive with the Sakas and the Kuṣāṇas but later had played their own role along with the *Kuṇindas*, the *Mālavas*, the *Nāgas* and the *Maghas*, in giving a deadly and final blow to the Kuṣāṇas who were driven out.[1] An ad-hoc communion might have been formulated in view of achieving the common aim of ousting a formidable common enemy. The appearance of the words—'*Dvi*' and '*Tri*', on the later coins of the Yaudheyas confirm the fact that besides the Yaudheyas, there had been two other neighbouring tribes constituting the union and it must have been the *Kuṇindas* and the *Arjunāyanas* with whom they were much closer and more amicable.

In the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., the Kuṣāṇas were gradually ousted from U.P. and Eastern Punjab where the Yaudheyas re-established themselves.[2] This incident inspired the *Nāgas* of *Padmāvati* and the *Mālavas* of *Rajputana* to follow suit.

Even before the rise of the Kuṣāṇas, the Yaudheyas were ruling over a wide stretch of territory extending over northern Rajputana and the south of Punjab to the middle of the 1st century A.D. Soon afterwards, however, the Kuṣāṇas (Kaniṣka-I) smashed their power and it is believed that they penetrated upto Benares and perhaps upto Pāṭaliputra also, defeating and crushing the Yaudheyas in the battle fought presumably in the vicinity of *Panipat*.

The Kuṣāṇas remained very powerful so long as Kaniṣka and Huviṣka were leading them and so the Yaudheyas could not get any opportunity to raise their heads for about 50 years. But, about c. 145 A.D., they rose against this foreign power somewhere in the north-eastern Rajputana. They confronted Rudradāman who defeated them in this initial effort. It appears that they had some more opportunities of facing this foreign power which may have resulted in their further reverses. But, they were not dismayed, and when the Kuṣāṇa power began showing the symptoms of decay (during Kaniṣka-III), in the 2nd century A.D., they organised a communion mentioned above and with this joint effort they succeeded this time, in ousting them completely beyond the Sutlej.

Although, there is actually no other direct reference to prove the long struggle of the Yaudheyas with the Kuṣāṇas, the numismatic evidence is firmly conclusive as it is certain that the Yaudheyas could have re-established themselves only after the subversion of the Kuṣāṇas. It appears that the coins bearing the legend-- '*Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jayaḥ*', were meant primarily to commemorate this great victory (a final success achieved after a prolonged and strenuous effort).

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[1] 'The Vākāṭaka Gupta Age', edited by Altekar & Majumdar, p-27.
[2] Ibid. p-1.

This act of gallantry has a great historical importance, as the power of the Kuṣāṇas extended right from *Bactria* to *Bihar* and they had practically such infinite resources that their kings enjoyed the privilege of being universally acclaimed as the '*Sons of Heaven*', for almost 100 years. It is obvious that the Kuṣāṇas must have applied their full force, this time also, to fight-out this dreadful tribe; but they could not withstand the chivalry and gallantry of this powerful and patriotic revolting republic of the Yaudheyas who were on the tumultuous advance, this time, and had pounced upon them with maximum force. It began to be believed now that they possessed an esoteric power of attaining victory under all conditions, however adverse they may be, and against all enemies however mighty they may be.

It is believed by historians like Rahul[1] and others that Chandragupta-II (of the Gupta dynasty) had destroyed the Yaudheyas because we hardly hear anything about the republic from the beginning of the 5th century A.D. But it is not so. *Somadeva Sūrī* has very vividly described the democratic life and culture of the Yaudheya republic in his '*Yaśastilaka*'. He was a contemporary of *Rājā Krișṇa*, the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king whose time is believed to be the 10th century A.D. From Sūrī we get a pictorial description of *Rājpur* which was the capital of the Yaudheya country. The *Jāṭs* who had opposed the army of *Mahmood Gazanavī*, on his return journey from *Somnath*[2] near *Multan*, were actually these Yaudheyas only.

After the break up of the kingdom of Lahore, the Jāṭs had grown very powerful and had started making devastating raids on the neighbouring districts. It were these brave people of *Harayānā*, *Śivālika* and *Bayānā* who had inflicted severe blows to *Balban* many times.

We find no historical trace of the Yaudheyas before the 7th century A.D. *Varāhamiara* also gives a traditional geography and he has no living facts before him when he tries to place them with the *Gāndhāras*. *Johiyā Rājaputs*, living in *Bahawalpur* frontier (on the banks of river Sutlej); are supposed to be the descendants of this tribe.[1] On both territorial and philological grounds, this identification appears to be sound.

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[1] 'Jaya Yaudheyas'—Introduction, p-1.

[2] Prasad, Ishwari, 'History of Medieval India', p-99.

Down to the third quarter of the 4th century A.D., the Yaudheyas remained enjoying the position of a powerful republic. In the northern Rajputana and south-eastern Punjab, they must have continued to be a most dreaded force between the 3rd and the 4th century A.D., as a large number of their coins bearing the characters of their period have been found in these areas.

The Yaudheyas migrated to the western Rajputana during the period of Rudradāman, leaving their ancestral and original abode. They had left their home along with the *Madras*, the *Mālavas* and the *Śibis*, under pressure of the *Satraps* of *Mathurā*. But they did not forget their fertile land and aspired to be back. They fulfilled this ardent desire after defeating the Kuṣāṇas in the area occupied by them in the Punjab.

The importance of the Yaudheyas in the Indian history is principally because of their heroic deeds. They were great and desperate fighters. They loved freedom and for this freedom they were always prepared to sacrifice their lives.

From the examination and study of their coins, it is proved that before the advent of the 'Golden Age' during the period of the Guptas, they were the brave leaders of the independence movement. They succeeded in knocking-down the Kuṣāṇa empire.

During the period of the invasion of Alexander, we find that the *Mālavas*, the *Kshudrakas* and the *Kathas* bitterly opposed the invader but the Yaudheyas have not been mentioned separately although we have sufficient proof of their prominent role during the campaign. We come across these patriots again after the Mauryas when they start their struggle against the foreign power.

In the *Jūnāgadh* inscription,[2] it has been pointed out that all the Kshatriyas had endowed the Yaudheyas with the title '*Veer*'. They were thus universally accepted to be the national

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1. Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-140.
2. Sircar, D.C., 'Select Inscriptions', p-172.

heroes because of their chivalry and deep love for their motherland.

At the time of the invasion of Alexander, when this tribe was a communion of 3 tribes namely—the Johiyās, the Bāgaris and the Bhatis, they had a fighting-strength[1] of :—

5,000 Elephants
500 Chariots
6,000 Horses, and
60,000 Soldiers.

During peace, they were organised and well set up as a singular independent entity. And in war they proved dauntless. The elasticity, versatility and adaptability of this tribe is further revealed from the inscription of Rudradāman and Samudragupta. While Rudradāman claims in his rock inscription of Jūnāgadh to have completely rooted-out the Yaudheyas, as early as 150 A.D., Samudragupta accepts their survival in his pillar inscription of Allahabad, as late as 470 A.D.

The Yaudheyas must have been a tribe from the aristocratic Kshatriya stock as per the Paurāṇic history. The descendants of this warrior tribe have survived in the present population of Punjab and Rajputana which have contributed the following fighting regiments to the modern Indian Army :—

1. The Rajput Regiment
2. The Rajputana Rifles
3. The Grenadiers, and
4. The Jat Regiment.

The above mentioned regiments are composed of a majority of men from this, locality. Besides them, a major percentage of the martial people of this area man the artillery regiments and the Armoured Corps of the Army.

The Yaudheyas had a political existence of more than 1000 years in the Indian history. During this period they displayed their dominance and achieved great heroic reputation but we are pained to find no trace of the Yaudheyas in history after the 7th century A.D., although the exact time of their disappearance has not been established in an authentic way.

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[1] Jayaswal, K.P., HP, Vol-I, p-62; Cunningham, A., AGI, p-208.

The bravery of this tribe is unquestionable and is established. Bravery does not mean overlooking danger. Mass-suicide without deploying any tactics to save oneself and to kill the enemy is no heroism. Advance (attack and kill) and withdrawal (retreat and survive) is the religion of the warriors. We know that the warrior tribes had to migrate and leave their motherland once or twice, to save themselves so that they may gather momentum, contemplate on better plans of strategy, formulate alliances and organise their armed forces for an improved campaign especially when we know that they had to face such formidable enemies like the world-famous Alexander the Great, Rudradāman the Kshatrapa besides the Kuṣāṇas. When we consider the great victories of the great warriors of the history of the world, we find the mention of their withdrawals also.

But in spite of the above psychological factors of war that these traditional warriors had to maintain, we note with deep regret the opinion of P.L. Gupta[1] which he expresses in the following words :—

> "When we know that most of the tribal republics of the Punjab were *migratory in character and migrated from one place to another* from time to time when they had any outside pressure, like the Śibis, the Mālavas, and a few others, we shall presently see that the Yaudheyas too were a migratory tribe, they did not occupy the above defined territories at one and the same time."

This deduction of P.L. Gupta is absolutely contrary to the popular and universal contemplation of the other historians. It is really a very sorrowful thing to consider any of these tribes especially the Yaudheyas to be *Migratory and Nomads* in character, about whom we have known much by now, to prove their dominant role in the contemporary history.

Establishing a form of government, devising a democratic set-up of administration, minting of coinage, founding a capital, maintaining a regular and standing army (6000 strong in the case of the Yaudheyas), possessing even elephants trained for fighting and formulating of confederations –independent in domestic affairs and united for military and foreign affairs—are definitely not the characteristics of a migratory tribe, as we have not a singular parallel in the history of mankind.

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[1] JUPHS, Vol-XXIII, Pt-I (1950), p-170.

2. FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The republic of the Yaudheyas was perhaps the largest one, as their coins have been found in a very vast area.

Like the *Lichchhavis* of earlier times, the tribal heads of the Yaudheyas adopted the vice regal title. We know of a unique inscription of the Yaudheyas in an ornate script which was discovered in the state of *Bharatpur*.[1] In this inscription a mention has been made about the elected president who has been made the leader of the Yaudheya-Gaṇa. He was given the title of *Mahārāja-Mahāsenāpati*. This inscription is considered to belong to the Gupta period.[2]

The Yaudheyas used a term *Gaṇa* for themselves. According to Jayaswal,[3] this Gaṇa is considered to be the same as modern democracy. He quotes references in support of the fact that the Gaṇas were in existence in a much earlier date than these coins. This has been doubted by P.L. Gupta,[4] who considers that the word Gaṇa must not have meant the same thing, in the later period. He thinks that '*Janapada*' and Gaṇa referred to democracy but they must have meant distinctly two different forms of the same. In his opinion the word Gaṇa should mean some sort of federation. We know of their federal communion with the Arjunāyanas and the Kuṇindas at the time when they had decided to over throw the Kuṣāṇa power.

Punjab and Sindh, which happened to come under the thorough survey of the Greek writers, had only two or three states with monarchical form of government. The kingdoms of *Poros* and the *Abhisaras* can be mentioned among them. The rest of the country was republican. This is certified further by the account of *Plutarch* (LX) about Poros :—

> '...Alexander then not only re-instated Poros in his kingdom with the title of Satrap, but added a large province to it, subduing the inhabitants whose form of government was republican.'

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[1] Fleet, J.F., CII, Vol-III, p-251.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Jayaswal, K.P., Op cit., p-148.

[4] IHQ, Vol-XXVII, No. 1, p-200.

In the 3rd and the early 4th century A.D., when the Yaudheyas are known to dominate a definite locality in the Kangra valley, they issued coins from *Sunet* near *Ludhiana* which was probably their centre, as many moulds used for casting their coins have been found in this locality. Coins of this period bore the legend—'*Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jayaḥ*'.[1] This reveals that they again reverted to a constitution which contained the importance of the Gaṇa. The presiding or the tutelary deity or the leader probably ceased to have his dominant influence.

Pāṇini refers to the Yaudheyas as *Saṁgha* but the Yaudheyas have preferred themselves as Gaṇa on their coins. The Mahābhārata also mentions both these terms—*Saṁgha* and *Gaṇa*, to mean republican state in general.[2] As referred by Pāṇini, the Yaudheyas organised a republican type of state.[3] K.P. Jayaswal[4] goes further to prove that the democracy of the Yaudheyas was not at all conservative and narrow in general set-up, rather it was tribal in the strict sense of the term. He refers to the Mahābhārata in which mentions have been made about the set-up of the tribe based on legal and communal understanding with purely non-tribal conditions. Pāṇini also mentions that the martial states had men of all castes and not of one *Gotra* or one tribal origin.

The word Gaṇa has been interpreted in different ways by different western scholars :—

1. J.F. Fleet }
2. M. Williams } —'A tribe'
3. Buhler—'A corporation of traders and workmen'
4. Jolley—'An Assembly'.

As we have seen, Jayaswal has almost refuted the view of the above noted western scholars. On the basis of literary and archaeological evidences, he interprets Gaṇa as a republican state. It means the numbers. *Gaṇarājya*, therefore, will mean—'the rule of numbers or the rule of many.'[5] The term *Saṁgha* also denotes a republican state, of course a confederation of many republics. *Kātyāyana*[6] also takes the term Saṁgha as a form of government distinct from '*Ekrāja*', where sovereignty is vested in one and not in many.

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[1] Allan, J., BMCAI, p-cli.
[2] Mbh. Śāntiparva, 82 and 108.
[3] Pāṇini, V.3.117.
[4] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. cit., p-115.
[5] Chakrabortty, S.K., AIN, p-138.
[6] Vārtikā, 4.1.168.1.

While the word Gaṇa stands for individual republic, the Saṁgha stands for a confederate republican state. Of course some times they have been used as synonyms.

Unlike the legends of their contemporaries, who used the word 'Janapada', the Yaudheyas used their names in plural. A deduction can be drawn from this that the Yaudheyas were something more than mere 'Janapada'. They must have been having a different form of democracy, probably a confederation of tribes, which is actually a historical fact about which we have known (their confederation with the Arjunāyanas and the Kuṇindas).

Pāṇini and Kauṭilya as also the Mahābhārata use the words Gaṇa and Saṁgha in a political signification to mean autonomous kingless classes or corporations as distinguished from kingship.

Samudragupta's conquests were extensive. Partly by his annexations and partly by impositions of his supremacy, he controlled a very large empire. But various tribal states in the Punjab and Mālava including the Yaudheyas enjoyed autonomy under the protection of the paramount power. The coins of the Yaudheyas and their votive tablets discovered at Ludhiana support their independent administrative system. They were actually having tribal oligarchies.[1]

From the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, we learn that the Yaudheya's representative came to offer submission to the Gupta emperor. Definitely, he was not a king. It is therefore evident that there was no monarchical form of government prevalent in this tribe although it is sure that the sovereignty must not have been vested in the whole of the population.

The Buddhist literature as also the account of the Greek writers testify the fact that the central assembly of the non-monarchical states of the 4th century B.C., consisted mostly of the members of the landed military aristocracy of the Kshatriya class. Of course the villages and towns had their own popular councils consisting of the elders of all professions and classes of society.

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[1] Sinha, H.N., 'Development of Indian Polity', Ch-II, p-177.

McCrindle[1] describes the government of the Yaudheyas and says that it was a Parliamentary-Aristocracy. The parliament consisted of 5,000 representatives. Arrian,[2] in his 'Indica', refers to a very great number of elephants in the army of the tribe and also their superior size and great courage. It is said, that each member of the Parliament used to supply one elephant to the state army. This description tallies with *Kauṭilya's*—'*Vārttā-Śastropajīvin*' also. And here also, we find another proof of their democratic set-up as it must not have been possible for one individual to afford the heavy price of an elephant. He must have, therefore, been a representative of some constituency, the citizens of which might be contributing towards this costly affair.

The presence of a tribe named '*Sambracaoe*' or '*Sabraoe*', during the invasion of Alexander, has been mentioned by *Quintus Curtius*.[3] The tribe did not have a king. It had three generals. The coins of the Yaudheyas also depict the existence of three tribal divisions within themselves. It is therefore evident from the above also that the description of Curtius is containing the reference of the Yaudheyas only.

The *Bijaigadh* stone inscription proves that they had an *elected* '*President*'. The order is issued by him.[4] In this inscription, he is described as the President by the Gaṇa of the Yaudheyas.

Some impressions have been found in *Hoshiarpur* bearing the legend—'*Yodheyānām Jaya Maṁtradhāranāṁ*'. It is not clear whether the impression is from official seal or of coin but anyhow they are in the name of the Yaudheyas and their cabinet or their executive committee. The executive committee is called '*Maṁtradhāra*' which means 'those vested with the policy of the state'.[5]

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1. 'Ancient India As Described In Classical Literature', p-45.
2. BK, IV, p-25.
3. BK, IX, Ch-8.
4. Fleet, J.F., Op. Cit., p-251.
   सिद्धम् ! योधेय गण-पुरस्कृतस्य महाराज महासेनापतेः...पु...ब्राह्मण पुरोगं चाधिष्ठानं शरीरादि कुशलं पृष्ट्वा लिखत्यस्तिरस्मा ।
   'Success ! of Mahārāja, Mahāsenāpati...who has been made President (Leader) by the Yaudheya Parliament ...... (he) after wishing health to the Brahmiṇ headman and to the settlement rites... there is ......'
5. Proceeding ASB (1884), pp-138-40.

One set of the Yaudheya coins is struck in the name of the '*Mantradhāras*' *and the* '*Gaṇa*', while the other set is struck simply in the name of 'Gaṇa'. It therefore appears that the chief or leaders of the Gaṇa formed the executive body or the cabinet. And as the Mahābhārata says that the main difficulty with the Gaṇa type of constitution is about the maintenance of secrecy because of the large numerical strength of its members—it is probable that they might have formed another body of the '*Elders*' forming a second house. These members of the second house had varying powers, differing according to their different individual constitutions.

The view of some historians, who consider the word—*Mantradhāranāṁ*' to mean 'those who were in possession of Victory Charm'—does not have any justification.

Kauṭilya[1] also defines 'Mantra' to accomplish the understanding of what is not or cannot be seen, imparting the strength of a definite conclusion to what is apprehended, removal of doubt when two courses or opinions are possible, and influence of the whole matter when only a part of it is known. He eulogises the importance of 'Mantra' stating that 'an arrow discharged by an expert archer may or may not kill a man, but well considered policy operated upon by a wise man would destroy even those in womb.'[2] In literature, 'Mantra' was recognised as a source of victory.[3] It was this word 'Mantra' which must have meant secrecy or the secrets of a governmental policy, for which unprecedented importance has been given by the great politician—Kauṭilya, and also by *Manu*. Manu[4] advises the removal, not only of men rather of even animals, who were likely to disclose the deliberations. It must have been used, therefore, to denote secret policy matters. In view of the above the meaning of 'Mantra' cannot be 'Victory Charm'. It must have been used for those upholders of the

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1. AS, Ed. Kangle, I, 15-20.
2. AS, Ed. Kangle, X.6.51.

   एकं हत्यान्न वा हत्यादिषुः क्षिप्तो धनुष्यता ।
   प्राज्ञेन तु मतिः क्षिप्राः हत्याद्गर्भगतानपि ।।
3. Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyakaṇḍa, 100.16. & Mbh., Sabhāparva, Ch-5 27.

   मंत्रो विजयं मूलं हि राज्ञां भवति राघवः ।
   and cf. विजयो मंत्र मूलो हि राज्ञां भवति भारत ।।
4. Manusmṛti, VII, 149-50.

governmental secret policies who formed the administrative machinery.

The central assembly of the Yaudheyas used to elect the central executive of the republics.[1] In times of war and difficulties, aristocratic families used to manage administration and lead the armies, though they did not usually had the title of Rājā and Mahārājā. The head of the Yaudheya state was given the regal title of 'Mahārāja' but the post was elective[2] and he was not permitted to put his name on the state coinage. This so-called Mahārāja used to be the commander-in-chief of the tribe besides being the head of the state.

From an earthen seal found at Agroha (ancient Agrodaka) in the district of Hissar, it is revealed that the Senāpati, Mahāsenāpati, Mahākshatrapa and Mahārāja was one and the same individual in the tribal republic of the Yaudheyas.[3]

Dr. P.L. Gupta has critically examined various other minute factors and has confirmed that the successors of the Yaudheya republic were nominated by the ruling heads of the Yaudheya-gaṇa which used to be approved by the Gaṇa (Puraskrita). 'And then the Mahārāja (the head of the tribe) was also Mahākshatrapa, Mahāsenāpati or Senāpati.'[4]

It is not actually well-established as to how these Mahārājas were elected. It is presumed that the Presidents of the City-Councils and the Village Pañchāyats and also the members of their autocracy took part in the elections. A few leading families must have been putting their candidates for this election.

V.A. Smith[5] has suggested that the tribal constitution of the Yaudheyas may have been of *Tibetan* origin. He refers to the 'Curious form of elective Chieftainship discovered in the Chumbī valley' (as published in the weekly edition of the Madras Mail dated 12th of July, 1906), but nothing has been suggested as a clear proof on the identification of the Yaudheyas having been of Tibetan origin. K.P. Jayaswal[6] refutes this view of Smith and finds it hard to believe as to why this

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1. 'The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age', Ed. Altekar & Majumdar, p-266.
2. Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-43.
3. JNSI, Vol-XXXII (1970), Pt-II, p-154.
4. Ibid., p-157 (Editor's note).
5. IA, Vol-XXXV (1906), p-209.
6. HP (1943), p-178.

Tibetan illustration should be made to serve to fill up the vacuum of Indian details. It is perhaps because no details of Indian constitution of that period were known to Smith. He finds nothing corresponding to them so far the Parliament or the Gaṇa, the Mantradhāras, the elected presidents of the Yaudheyas are concerned, as we definitely know that the government in the Chumbī valley had been a theocratic one.

R.C. Agrawala[1] mentions about some coins bearing the legend '*Yaudheya Janapada*'. These coins were unearthed at *Naurangabad*. This rare collection is now kept in the *Gurukula Museum* at *Jhajjhar* in the district of *Rohtak*.

Then came a period of confederation when in c. 200 A.D., the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas and the Arjunāyanas formed a union of tribes. The foreign and military affairs remained centrally controlled, probably by a council of Presidents of these republics elected by the federating units. These presidents enjoyed the title of '*Mahārāja-Mahāsenāpati*'.[2] This is further confirmed by the prevalence of the word '*Dvi*' and '*Tri*' on some of the coins of this tribe which indicates that they belong to the second and the third sections of the tribe. In the 5th century A.D., they disappeared totally and their republican or Gaṇa coinage also came to an end by c. 400 A.D. As per Jayaswal's inference, *Samudragupta* was the killer of the free-spirit of these tribes but is contradicted again by the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription*, as it is evident from it that the Yaudheyas had accepted the supremacy of Samudragupta in a general way and exercised full autonomy in their own state. How the democratic traditions were allowed to vanish and how the posts of the Presidents (Mahārājas or Mahāsenāpatis) became hereditary, is still vague as we lack the names and the genealogy of these dignitaries. Somehow, the following logical acceptable reasons can be advanced in this regard :

1. The tendency of regarding monarchy as divine right might have encouraged and induced the republic to accept the leadership of the hereditary presidents, known afterwards as the Mahārājas.
2. It could have been realised that the scope of the develop-

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[1] JNSI, Vol-XXVIII (1966), Pt-II, p-201.

[2] A fragmentary inscription depicting these designations has been found at Bharatpur.

ment of a monarchical state into an empire was unlimited as compared to the republican form.

3. A monarchical form of government had greater scope of protection against aggression from outside the state.
4. It might have been considered more effective in domestic administration during peace and war.
5. Some of the strong Presidents might not have allowed others to succeed him after an election.

3. EXTENT OF TERRITORY

From the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., after the overthrow of the *Kuṣāṇas*, the *Yaudheyas* established their rule in a vast territory which included the present districts of *Saharanpur*, *Dehradoon*, *Delhi*, *Rohtak*, *Ludhiana* and *Kangra*. This has been ascertained by the fact that the coins of *Kaniṣka-III* (c. 180 to c. 210 A.D.) and *Vāśudeva-II* (c. 210 to c. 240 A.D.) have no trace in the region lying east of the river *Sutlej*. It is apparent that the Kuṣāṇas must have lost sway over this territory.

The central seat of the Yaudheyas was located at 'Rohitaka' (modern Rohtak). The Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata[1] states that the Rohitaka state was divided into two provinces :

1. Marū and
2. Bahudhānyaka.

The word *Marū* means *marubhūmi* which signifies desert or barren land. This Marū must have been the province of *Rajputana*. While *Bahudhānyaka* implies a very wealthy place, most fertile tract of land which was famous as the '*Granary of the Yaudheyas* (*Bahudhanam*)'. Mahābhārata mentions the Bahudhānyaka country after the mention of the place 'Rohitaka'. *Somadeva*,[2] while describing in detail about this locality, opines that the area was famous for the cultivation of paddy (*Dhān*). Even today *Saharanpur* and

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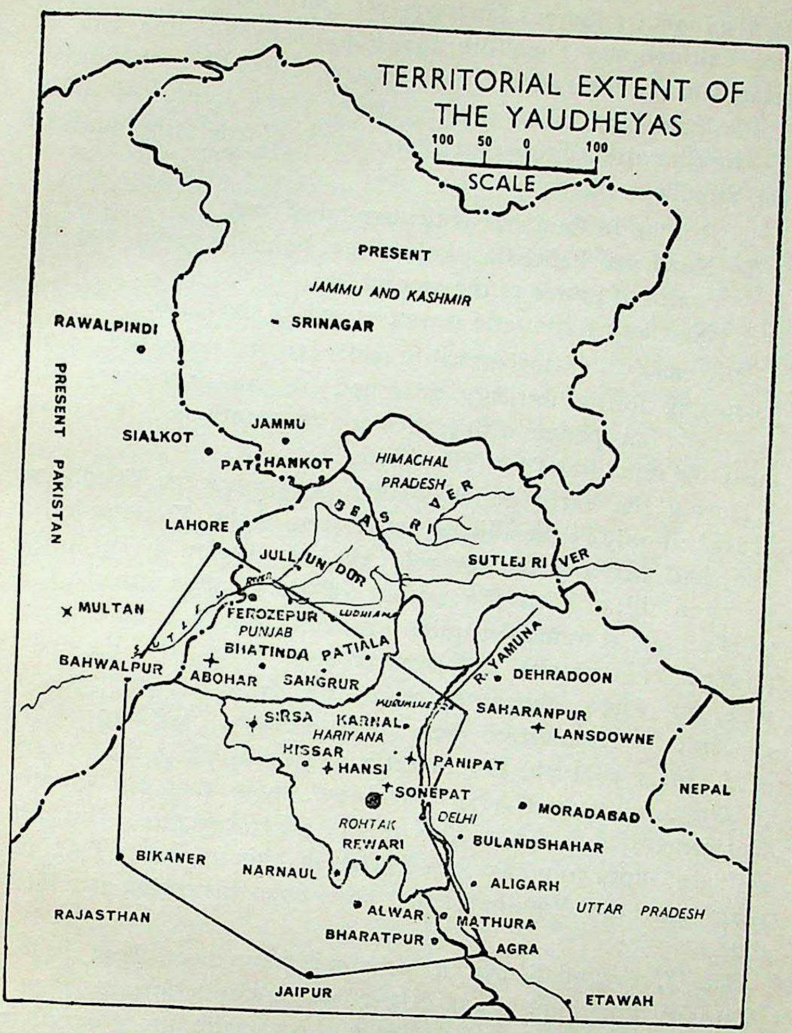
[1] Mbh., Sabhāparva, Ch-32, Verse 4 & 5
ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाढ्यं धनधान्यवत् ।
कार्त्तिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत ।।4।।
तत्र युद्धं महच्चासीच् छूरैर्मत्तमपूरकैः ।
मरूभूमि स कान्स्न्येन तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ।।5।।

[2] 'Yaśastilaka', p-142.


TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE YAUDHEYAS
100 50 0 100
SCALE
PRESENT JAMMU AND KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
RAWALPINDI
PRESENT PAKISTAN
JAMMU
SIALKOT
PATHANKOT
HIMACHAL PRADESH
BEAS RIVER
LAHORE
JULLUNDUR
SUTLEJ RIVER
MULTAN
FEROZEPUR
LUDHIANA
PUNJAB
BHATINDA
PATIALA
BAHWALPUR
ABOHAR
SANGRUR
YAMUNA
DEHRADOON
SAHARANPUR
LANSDOWNE
SIRSA
KARNAL
HARIYANA
HISSAR
HANSI
PANIPAT
SONEPAT
NEPAL
MORADABAD
ROHTAK
DELHI
REWARI
BULANDSHAHAR
BIKANER
NARNAUL
ALIGARH
UTTAR PRADESH
RAJASTHAN
ALWAR
MATHURA
BHARATPUR
AGRA
JAIPUR
ETAWAH

The Map has been attached for an easy understanding of the localities under the tribal republic of the Yaudheyas.

The present state boundaries as also the international boundaries on the northern and western frontiers have been given to depict the idea of the extent (present day) dominated by the republic.

Places where the coinage, remains of the minting apparatus (casting devices etc.) have been found, have been shown with star-marks.

The scale will reveal the size of the territory.

Dehradoon are famous for the sweet and fragrant *'Bāsamatī'* rice cultivation. Therefore the Bahudhānyaka area can be related to the Dehradoon and Saharanpur localities of today.

Varāhamihira[1] places them in the northern division of India. *Altekar*[2] also affirms that there were 3 federating units of the Yaudheya power :

1. Rohtak in Punjab was the capital of one,
2. Northern Pañchāla, known as Bahudhānyaka, was the centre of power of the second, and
3. Northern Rajputana was occupied by the third.

Alexander's historians also refer to a trans-Beas state possessing fertile territory governed by an aristocracy and exercising its power with justice and moderations. It is obviously the republic of the Yaudheyas.

During the early period of the *Kuṇindas*, the Yaudheyas flourished only in the adjacent territories of the *Kumaon* hills.[3] They had actually no control over any region lying in the Kumaon hills. With the advent of the *Kuṣāṇa* inroads, this tribe remained numb for quite some time, but regained original power after some time and pounced upon them (the Kuṣāṇas) with full force, almost overthrowing them and annexing a vast tract of Kumaon to their own territory. We are aware of the facts that the Gupta art is clearly visible in the temple of *Jāgeśwar* near *Almora* where we know that the Guptas had penetrated as far as *Katyur* or *Kārttikeyapur*. But not a single Gupta coin has been found in this region. This reveals that the Yaudheyas had sway over this region at a later date.

The *Alwar* and *Bharatpur* provinces have been kept in the *Matasya* kingdom. But Alwar was actually forming a part of the neighbouring republic, and this neighbouring republic was none other than the *Yaudheya Janapada*. This has been ratified by the list of the Janapadas of the *Garuḍapurāṇa*.

To the west of the river *Jamuna*, these coins of the Yaudheyas have been found in plenty.[1] Cunningham has made a reference in his book—'Ancient Geography of India' (page 245) that, to the west of the river *Sutlej* in *Depalpur*, *Satgarha*, *Ajudhan*, *Kahror* and *Multan;* and to the east of *Bhaṭner*, *Abhor*. *Sirsa*, *Hansi*, *Panipat* and *Sonepat*—these coins have been found in sufficient quantities. The evidence of the above shows that the Yaudheyas had full authority over the area which can be roughly estimated to be the present eastern Punjab.

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[1] Bṛhatasaṁhitā, XIV, Verse-28

गान्धार यशोवति हेमताल राजन्य खचर गव्याश्च ।
यौधेय दासमेया: श्माका क्षेम धूर्ताश्च ॥

[2] 'State and Government in Ancient India', p-119.

[3] Nautiyal, K.P., JNSI, Vol-XXIII (1961), p-384.

But all the previous deductions and inferences get a new direction when S.C. Kala's essay published in the JNSI[2] is taken into consideration. We have, upto this time, put the Yaudheyas in a limited area extending eastwards up to the vicinity of Saharanpur only, but he has come across a collection of coins possessed by Shri Jineshwar Das, Ex-special Manager of the Court of Wards, Allahabad. These coins have been found in a village near Lansdowne (Garhwal).

It therefore appears that after the overthrow of the imperial Kuṣāṇas this tribe got the opportunity of expansion in the eastern direction in the 3rd century A.D.

In the *Bhāgavata*, mentions have been made about the position of the Yaudheyas. They have been placed between the *Ābhīras* and the *Mālavas*. They were ruling over the terrain situated to the north of the Ābhīras and to the north-west of the Mālavas i.e. the western portion of Rajputana. The Viṣṇupurāṇa[3] reads :

> 'Saurāṣṭra—Avantī—Suraṅ Arbudā—Marubhūmi
> Vishayams Cha Vrātya Dvija Abhira—Sudra
> (read Sura) Adyāh Bhokshyanti'

The area lying on the banks of the river Sutlej to the borders of *Bahawalpur* is called *Johiyābār* even today. It is clear that this name might have been drawn from the gallant Yaudheyas who were dominating the area which at present includes the erstwhile state of *Patiala* and a large stretch of land lying in the northern *Rajputana*.

From the collection of the silver piece and 300 copper coins by Cunningham from the areas lying between the rivers *Sutlej* and *Jamuna*, it is evident that the territorial extent of the Yaudheyas stretched extensively. The cities of *Lahore*,

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[1] Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-II, p-14.

[2] JNSI, Vol-XVIII, Pt-I, p-46.

[3] Viṣṇupurāṇa.

Bahawalpur, *Bikaner*, *Ludhiana* and *Delhi* were the limits of their tribal territory as per this find.

A hoard of 136 coins was discovered in the village named Panjya in Jaunsar-Bawar[1] of Dehradoon district in the year 1936 and from this find we can deduce that the Yaudheya sway extended up to this place in the east.

In the opinion of D.C. Sircar, the *Bayānā* block of the *Johiyābār* and *Bharatpur*, situated at the bank of the river Sutlej, were also included in the territory belonging to the Yaudheyas.[2] On the basis of this finding, it appears quite convincing to identify *Rājpur* the other capital of the Yaudheya democracy with modern *Rajor* or *Rajorgarh* situated in the present *Alwar* district. This Rajor or Rajorgarh called by the name of *Rājpur* or *Rājyapur* elsewhere, and the inscription of the *Pratihār* ruler—*Mathander* (1016 VE=959 A.D.) has been referred by the Mohammedan writer *Alberuni* as *Rajauri*. According to Alberuni, *Bajana* is *Bayānā* (the province of Bharatpur) itself, which was situated at a distance of 15 *Farsakh* (about 55 miles) from Rajauri.[3]

Presumably due to bad blood with *Rudradāman*, the Yaudheyas migrated towards the western *Rajputana*. *Magadh* once more became powerful during the days of *Samudragupta*, after a lapse of about 400 years, but Samudragupta did not follow his annexation-policy sofar as the Yaudheyas, the *Madras*, the *Mālavas* and a few other tribes were concerned. He allowed them to retain their individual entity perhaps because he considered his effective and continued control over them to be difficult from the seat of his Magadhan empire situated at a far off place. Their traditional fighting and revolting tendencies also might have compelled him to take such decision.

Even in the ancient sites of U.P. namely *Bhīṭā*, *Mathurā* and *Ramnagar*, we have found the coinage of *Kaniṣka*, *Huviṣka* and *Vāśuḍeva-I* but we have not found the coinage of any of their successors in these areas. This sheds sufficient light on the fact that they (the Kuṣāṇas) had lost control over these regions. On the other hand, we have found the coinage of the Yaudheyas in great number at Saharanpur, Dehradoon, Delhi, Rohtak and Kangra lying between the rivers Sutlej and

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[1] JNSI, Vol-II, p-109.

[2] 'Geography of Ancient & Medieval India', p-22.

[3] EI, Vol-III, p-262-67.

Jamuna which gives further confirmation of the fact that they had driven out the Kuṣāṇas from these areas and had re-established themselves firmly, in the 3rd-4th century A.D.

From the above (find-spots of the coins and inscriptions), the whole of *Rajputana*, eastern *Punjab* and the vast tract of land between the *Sutlej* and the *Jamuna;* right up to the borders of *Kurukshetra* formed the Yaudheya republic in the early centuries before the Christian era and during the middle of the 2nd century A.D., they were occupying the areas lying between *Bhatner* and *Pakpatan* to *Sabzkot*.

Hence we see that the extent of their territory had considerable changes from time to time. Sometimes they occupied areas extending upto Lansdowne (Garhwal) in the east and right upto the extensive eastern portion of Rajputana in the west, but generally speaking, they covered the areas mentioned above and as shown in the attached map.

4. COINAGE

The coins of the Yaudheyas are, generally speaking, of two distinct kinds—the older ones of small size dating from about the 1st century B.C. and the later ones of large size from about the 3rd century A.D. (shortly after the decline of the Indo-Scythian power, and during the early period of the Gupta sway). The figures on these later coins are copied from the Indo-Scythian money.

So far as the choice of metal is concerned, the later Kuṣāṇas and the Indo-Scythians did not prefer to issue copper coins. Money-market had been so overflooded by the copious copper-currency of the great Kuṣāṇa rulers that it was considered useless to issue any fresh coins. The Indian republics which overthrew the Kuṣāṇa overlordship and regained independence, resumed their coinage by c. 200 A.D. The Yaudheyas were the most powerful and prominent among these republics and their coinage is most widespread and abundant. These copper coins bear a very close resemblance with those of the Kuṣāṇas both in weight and fabric. Even the obverse and reverse figures have great similarities. Of course, the standing figure of the 'King' has been replaced by 'Kārttikeya'. They had accepted the Kuṣāṇa metrology in the beginning, as there was no other immediate alternative.

Unlike the Kuṣāṇas, the Yaudheyas decided not to inscribe their legends in any foreign script (as we know that the

Kuṣāṇas had patronised Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī—both foreign to them, for their coin legends). The Yaudheyas started the use of national Brāhmī script for this purpose after their conquest. They took up Kharoṣṭhī (another Indian script) also as their coin legends.

Coins of the Yaudheyas are closely related in style, to the coins of the northern Satraps, the Arjunāyanas, the Audumbaras and the Rājanyas and others.[1]

The coins of this tribe are known in six distinct classes with different varieties in each class. Classes 1, 2 & 5 belong to the late 2nd century B.C. and classes 3 & 4, to the later 2nd century A.D. The types as also their periods and the territories to which they belonged, are all different. Their provenance are not very accurately recorded,[2] and types are not distinguishably mentioned in the records of the finds.

The meaning of the phrase--'*Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jayaḥ*' has been interpreted differently by different scholars. Some historians take it to be a proud proclamation of the victory of the new republic whereas some others consider it to be a simple benediction and exclamation of glory. In ancient India, the *Kshatriyas* were wished as a common rule, courtesy and etiquette by the words—'*be victorious*' (*You be victorious*), by the *purohitas* (*Brahmiṇs*).[3] The Yaudheyas were Kshatriyas and it is possible that they might have styled themselves as such on their coins. The word 'Jayaḥ' has been used by the Arjunāyanas and the Mālavas also, prior to their being adopted by the Yaudheyas.

The Arjunāyanas initiated the use of this word in about 100 B.C. (earliest). The Mālavas adopted the word from them (Mālavānāṁ Jayaḥ) in Prākṛt legend in the 2nd to the early 4th century A.D. The Yaudheyas borrowed the formula from them and used them on their coins in the period from the 2nd to the early 4th century A.D.

The *Arjunāyanas* and the *Mālavas* used the word '*Jayaḥ*' only in the names of their tribes but the Yaudheyas have put an additional word—'*Gaṇa*' on their coinage (*Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jayaḥ*).

If we consider the legend-part of the coinage of the

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1. Smith,V.A., CCIM, Vol-I, p-160.
2. Allan, J., Op. Cit., 'Introduction', p-cli.
3. Raghuvaṁśa, XVI.5.

Yaudheyas, we come to a definite conclusion that the coin-legends appearing on the coins of class 5, are very elementary. It was perhaps this very class of coins which found introduction of legends. They were struck, however, later than those bearing the word '*Mahārāja*'.[1] The class 2 coins seem to be issued subsequent to those of class 5 coins.

An inference can be drawn from the simple legend '*Yaudheyānā(ṁ)*' that later, the elder members of the tribe preferred to issue money in the name of the tribe instead of the name of their chief or their king's office.

In point of time, next to the above, were struck the coins bearing the legend—'*Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhānake*'. They were struck with the idea of emphasising the original home, central seat of the tribal power, and to commemorate their fertile motherland.

The coins of class 3 have been issued in copper and silver both. The interpretation of the legend on this class of coins is controversial. The following are the different readings of the reputed numismatists :

1. **John Allan**[2]

Silver

'Yaudheya Bhāgavata—Svāmino Brahmaṇya (sa—sya)' meaning—'Of Brahmaṇya (a name of Kārttikeya), the divine lord of the Yaudheyas'.

Copper

'Bhāgavata—Svāmino Brahmaṇya devasya (or sa) Kumārasya (or sa)' meaning—'Of Kumāra the divine lord Brahmaṇya Deva'.

2. **E.J. Rapson**[3]

He has expressed the view that 'Brahmaṇya Deva' known from these coins is a Yaudheya King. The same view has exactly been expressed by Smith also.

3. **V.A. Smith**[4]

He considers that the correct reading on these coins seems undoubtedly to be Brahmaṇya (Deva), the name of the Yaudheya king to which the type of the 'six-headed deity (Ṣaḍāṇana, Brahmaṇya or Kārttikeya)' also alludes.

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[1] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-cxlvii.

[2] Op. Cit., p-cxlix.

[3] JRAS (1903), p-291.

[4] Op. Cit., p-159 (fn-2).

4. **S.K. Chakrabortty**[1]

   'Bhāgavataḥ Svāmino Brahmaṇya Devasya'—meaning 'the coins of (dedicated to) Almighty Lord Brahmaṇya Deva'.

5. **J.N. Banerjea**[2]

   He takes 'Bhāgavata' to stand for 'Bhāgavataḥ' on both silver and copper coins—meaning 'the holy or worshipful one'. He equates it with the word—'Svāmino' in the name of the god Kārttikeya, the temporal lord of the tribe (probably some time after the debacle at the hands of the great Śaka Kshatrapa Rudradāman).

The use of the word '*Svāmin*', in spite of its literal meaning--'*Lord*' should not be taken to mean the independent status of Lord Kārttikeya.

The western Kshatrapas had popularised the use of the word '*Svāmin*' as coin-legends. It can therefore be held that the Yaudheya coins were issued after their independence from the Kshatrapas, to mark and commemorate their independence. It is confirmed by the large number of coins, that they must have been meant as regular money of the tribe.

There is again some difference of opinion about the interpretation of the word '*Darma*' found on some of these coins :

1. **John Allan**[3]

   He considers it to be a mis-reading of the word Kumāra. He read Darma himself on a specimen which he rendered incorrectly as Dharma.

2. **Alexander Cunningham**[4]

   He reads it as 'Dama' or 'Darma' and as it was taken to be a Sanskritised form of Greek—'Drachma', the legend should be read as—'Brahmaṇya Devasya Drama', meaning —'the coin dedicated to the tutelary deity of the Yaudheya tribe'.[1]

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[1] Op. Cit., p-223.
[2] DHI, p-142.
[3] Op. Cit., p cl & p-270.
[4] CAI, p-78.

3. S.K. Chakrabortty[2]

He takes this word to mean a coin. He refers to a copper coin as bearing 'Brahmaṇya Devasya Drama', meaning— 'the coin of Brahmaṇya Deva'.

4. R.C. Agrawala[3]

He suggests that it is not plausible to read any reference to '*dramma*' on the coins of the Yaudheyas, which appears to be wrong. Referring to the reading of Chakrabortty in which Chakrabortty has said that 'the coin is a copper one', while dramma denoted a silver currency— Agrawala remarks that this is merely 'evading the real issue'.

And thus we see from the above explanation that the legend may not have been meant to commemorate the victory of their issuers rather they may have been accorded to the warriors by profession. It can be suggested further that the ministers especially the '*Purohitas*' of the republics would have so wished the tribe in their meetings of their assemblies and having been popular with them, ultimately it got place on their coins, one after the other by all the contemporary tribes.

Some of the Yaudheya coins bear six-headed figures. The figure is supposed to be that of *Kārttikeya*. These six-headed figures which appear on the obverse of some of the coins have been accepted to be a representation of Kārttikeya, the tutelary deity of the tribe. But, on the reverse of the coins of Class-3, variety C, we find a six-headed figure. This figure becomes controversial, so far as its identification is concerned.

Allan has considered it to be six-headed Kārttikeya while he refers to the obverse figure of the same coin to be a representation of standing figure of a Goddess facing with right hand raised and left resting on hip (Class-3, Var. C, No. 1) of this dissertation, and Allan's Cat. P. 272, Class-3, Var. C, No. 62.

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1. JNSI, Vol-XVII, pt-II, p-65.
2. Op. Cit., p-223.
3. JNSI, Vol-XVII, pt-II, p. 65.

V.S. Agrawala identifies this Goddess as *Shaṣthī* who is known as '*Devasenā*' (consort of Kārttikeya).[1] Mention of six-headed Shaṣthī has been referred in literature also.[2]

Deenbandhu Pandeya[3] considers this six-headed figure to be '*Kṛttikā*', the mother of Kārttikeya. He further concludes that Kṛttikā depicted on Yaudheya coins is no other than the goddess Shaṣthī of literature and folk-cults.

But this conclusion of Pandeya is confusing. He accepts in the same article that Shaṣthī (Devasenā) is the wife of Kārttikeya as suggested by Agrawala[4] also. He further says that *Kṛttikā* and *Shaṣthī* is one and the same goddess, and that Kṛttikā is the mother of Kārttikeya. Then he further concludes in the last sentence of his article[5] under reference that Kṛttikā is the same goddess Shaṣthī[6] of literature and folk-cults but we fail to understand as to how Kṛttikā or Shaṣthī can be Kārttikeya's mother and wife both.

R.C. Agrawala[7] has very critically examined the suggestion of Deenbandhu Pandeya[8] which is already confusing on the point of relationship of Kṛttikā with Kārtikeya (discussed above). He has rejected the suggestion of Pandeya on the following grounds :—

1. No reference of Kṛttikā alone and that too with all the six heads together, is found anywhere.
2. There is no literary text to support the view of Pandeya.
3. Referring to the figures of Kṛttikā at various other places (stone relief from Lucknow Museum, a mediaeval stone relief from the state museum at Lucknow—No. H-33, a number of early terracottas from various sites including Ahichhatra, sixth century sculpture at Tanesar near Udaipur etc.), he says with confidence that

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1. JNSI, Vol-V, pt I, pp-30-32.
2. Kaśyapa Saṁhitā—Bālagraha Chikitsā 'Ch., p-69 quoted in Prāchīn Bhartīya Lokadharma—Agrawala, V.S.
3. JNSI, Vol-XXIX, (1967), pt I, p-5 ff.
4. JNSI, Vol-V, pt-I-pp-30-32.
5. JNSI, Vol-XXIX (1967), pt 1, p-5 ff.
6. Ibid.

   एवं स्कन्दस्य महिषीं देवसेनां विदुर्जनाः ।
   षष्ठी या ब्राह्मणः प्राहुर्लक्ष्मीभाशां सुखप्रदाम् ॥

7. JNSI, Vol-XXX (1968), p-182.
8. Ibid.

all the Kṛttikās believed to be six in number have not been so far depicted anywhere in a composite form rather they have been shown quite separately.

And therefore he considers it unjustifiable to identify the figure of six-headed goddess on Yaudheya coins with Kṛttikā. He refers to Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa (IX, 46) and confirms that the goddess on the Yaudheya coins is none else but Devasenā or Shaṣthī.

It has been said previously that for listing of the coins and for explanations of the figures and palaeography, this work has been based on Allan's catalogue and so Allan's consideration that this controversial six-headed figure pertains to Kārttikeya, has been accepted.

A hoard of coins has been recently found in Chakrata Tehsil of Dehradoon district.[1] Most of these coins bear a standing male figure of Kārttikeya on obverse, and on reverse the figure of a goddess. But, there is a variety of these coins which represent a six-headed figure on both obverse and reverse.[2] The heads of deities have been arranged in two rows. In Kārttikeya's case it bears crest of matted locks (obverse). About the figure on the other side which is presumed to be the six-headed Kṛttikā, J. N. Banerjea[3] had interpreted it to be the figure of a goddess, probably goddess *Lakshmī* with aureole round her head (not a six-headed goddess).

Out of many Yaudheya seals of Haryana State Archaeological Museum at Rohtak, the following are worth mentioning as they are very informative :—

> The first is an earthen seal 7 cm long and 6.2 cm broad and oval in shape. It was found at Agroha in the district of Hissar. The figure of a humped bull facing left occupies almost one-third of the seal. There is a long line drawn beneath this figure and below this line there is a five-line inscription in Brāhmī script of the Gupta period—

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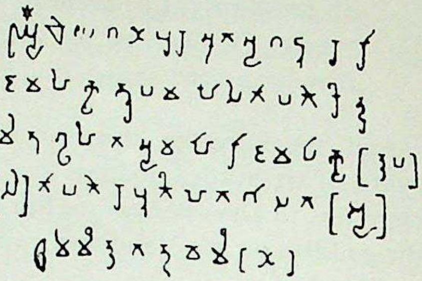
[1] JNSI, Vol-III, pp-109-112, pl-X.

[2] JNSI, Vol-V, pt-I, pp-30-32.

[3] DHI, 2nd edn., p-141.

योधेयगणपुरस्कृतस्यशङ्करररा-
जमहाक्षत्रपमहासेनापतेरिन्द्र-
मित्रगृहीतस्यमहाराजमहाक्षत्रप-
सेनापतेरप्रतिहतशासनस्य
धर्ममित्रनन्दवर्म्मणः



This seal is of *Dharmamitranandvarma* who was the successor of Yaudheya Gaṇa Mahārāja (Chief) Mahāksatrapa and Senāpati and Mahākshatrapa Mahāsenāpati Shankararāja and who had imprisoned a foe named Indramitra and whose administration was run without any interruption. Basing predominantly on the practice of the ancient seals in which names never end in nominative, P. L. Gupta,[1] opines that the name on the seal in all probability is *Nandavarmanasya* and not *Nandavarmmanaḥ* and similarly Bhagwandeva Acharya's reading as *Shankararāja* is most likely *Mahārāja*.

The second one is made of baked earth, oval in shape 6 cm long and 4.9 cm broad. It was found at Naurangabad. It is a seal on which letters are engraved in negative form and it is believed that it might have been in use for stamping coins. It bears inscription in Brāhmī script of the Gupta period which reads :

रपत
योधेय जनप
द प्रकृतानाक
नगर

In the beginning of the first line there is one sign about which it cannot be said with certainty whether it is a complete sign. In the opinion of Bhagwandeva Acharya[2] the first line is probably indicative of an officer 'रपत' of the city of Prakritinaka. Some scholars read this 'रपत' as 'हपत' and believe that 'हपत' means 'हयपति' master of horses. We are, of course, aware of the fact that in the republic of the Yaudheyas there were plenty of horses.

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[1] JNSI, Vol-XXII (1970), Pt-II, p-156 (editor's note).

[2] JNSI, Vol-XXXII (1970), p-155.

The third one is a square seal of properly baked earth of black colour 2.8 cm long and 2.6 cm broad. This seal was found at Naurangabad. In the first two lines above, the following inscription appears :

यौधेयान (ां)
जयमन्त्रधरा (म्)

Below these two lines there is a figure of a humped bull facing right. A similar coin was found earlier at Sunet which was published by Hoernale.[1] This seal indicates the bravery of the tribe and that they were never defeated as they had adopted the title of 'जयमन्त्रधरा'.

The fourth one is an oval seal 2.8 cm long and 2.6 cm broad made of zinc or lead. It bears inscriptions in negative form. At the back there is a handle to hold it. In the upper line appears the inscription 'यौधेयानां' in Brāhmī letters and below that the figure of a humped bull is inscribed. In many respects this seal is similar to the one published by Allan in the fifth class[2] with the only difference that this coin is oval and large while the coin of Allan's catalogue is very small and square.

4. (a) A GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINAGE

A very serious effort has been made here to accommodate all available details and qualifications of the coins in a graphic manner. Basing primarily on the classification of Allan, coins have been classified and have been grouped into separate varieties for making the explanations intelligible.

Other recent finds belonging to this tribe have also been incorporated.

Class-1

This class of coins comprises of small coins of Potin. The name of the tribe is not contained on them. They are related to the coins falling under class-2, as they contain slightly scyphate fabric, metal, and provenance, but they bear the name of the tribe also. All these coins are round in shape and have been stamped by means of a round die. The die used is invariably smaller than the flan of the coin. These coins were found at *Behat*,[1] along with other coins which clearly bear the name of the Yaudheyas. Allan considers them to belong to late 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.[2]

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[1] Proceedings, ASB (1884), p-137 ff.

[2] BMCAI, p-275, pl-XLIV. 27.

The coins of this class are both inscribed and uninscribed. Coins of variety-'E' bear inscription of the word '*Mahārāja*'. The occurrence of the word Mahārāja on the coins must not be taken to mean that they had a monarchical form of government as we have seen that all the members of the tribal assembly used to be called *Rājās* and the highest officers of the so-called Rājās were called 'Mahārājās'. A confirmation of this inference can be had from the *Amoghbhūti* coins of the *Kuṇindas*. The Yaudheyas also might have copied them.

Variety 'A'

Metal—Potin.

Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	17.5	.4		Plain
2.	14.0	.4	—do—	—do—
3.	13.6	.4	—do—	—do—
4.	10.0	.4	—do—	—do—

As we see from the above, coins of this variety contain a tree in railing on the obverse. The reverse is plain. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-265.)

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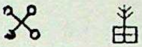
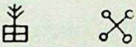
[1] JASB (1834), Vol-III, pp-227; 3, 4—Vol-IV (1835), p-626, pl-xxxiv; 13, 19, PE 83, pl-iv--3, 4, CAI, p-77.

[2] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-cliii.

Variety 'B'

Metal—Potin.

Shape—Round.

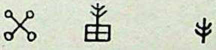
S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	27.4	.4		plain
2,	24.2	.5	—do—	—do—
3.	18.0	.4		—do—

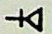
On the coins of this variety we find a tree in railing. But on its left there is a small Ujjayinī symbol. The other side of the coin is plain. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-265.)

Variety 'C'

Metal—Copper.

Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	42.5	.6		Plain
2.	35.5	.6	—do— (Overstruck with)	—do—

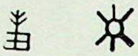


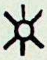
Here the coins contain the addition of a third symbol on the right along with the symbol of variety 'A' & 'B' which find their place in the centre and at the left respectively. The reverse of the coin is plain here also. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-266.)

Variety 'D'

Metal—Copper.

Shape—Round.

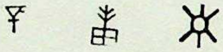
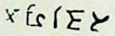
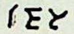
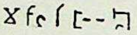
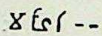
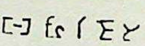
S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	16.5	.5		Plain

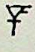
The above coin has the figure of the tree with railing belonging to the first variety 'A' along with the sign of a star or sun  at its right . The reverse remains plain (For specimen see BMCAI, p-266).

Variety 'E'

Metal—Copper.

Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	32.0	.6	  (Mahārājasa)	
2.	21.6	.7	-- 	—do—
3.	25.5	.7		—do—
4.	20.5	.5		—do—
5.	22.0	.5		—do—

The coins of this variety contain the tree with railing but the sign of the sun or the star is at its right, a new sign (not  as given in the catalogue under this variety) has been introduced. Besides this new sign they contain the legend—'*Mahārājasa*' below the figures in the Brāhmī character of the 1st century B.C.

They have their reverse also embossed with S. No. 1 mark unlike the previous varieties—'A', 'B' & 'C'. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-266).

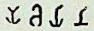
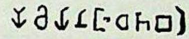
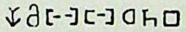
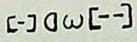
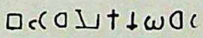
Class-2

In this class there are 4 varieties of coins. Their metal varies from Potin to Copper. They have the same reverse type. An elephant can be seen to the right with the *Nandipada* above it and a flowering pennon behind. The figure of a Bull is embossed before , a sacrificial post (Yūpa) which is fixed inside a railing.

According to Allan,[1] they pertain to the late 2nd and the 1st centuries B.C. thereby indicating the period of independence of the Yaudheyas (from the fall of the *Mauryas* to the advent of the Kuṣāṇas).

Variety 'A'

Metal—Potin (Serial Nos. 1 to 5) &
Copper (Serial No. 6 only).
Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	26.5	.5	Bull r. before on r.  (Yaudheyānāṁ) above uncertain inscription below 	Elephant r. above uncertain pennon-like object behind.
2.	22.5	.5		—do—
3.	17.6	.6	Traces of inscription	—do—
4.	14.5	.6	—do—	—do—
5.	16.0	.6		—do—
6.	7.7	.6		—do—

This variety contains a Bull to the right before a sacrificial Yūpa on right on the reverse of the coins. Besides the Yūpa they contain the figure of elephant to the right of the diagram . (For specimen see BMCAI, p-267).

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[1] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-cliii.

Variety 'B'

Metal—Copper.

Shape—Round.

S.No.	Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse
1.	31.5	.7	Bull to l. before on l. aω	Elephant r. above uncertain pennon-like object behind.
2.	22.0	.5	Traces of inscription	—do—
3.	35.0	.5	—do—	—do—

On the coins of this variety, the figure of the Bull appears to the left. The object in front of the bull is not as it has been mentioned in the text. It is simply reversed. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-267).

There is a little bit of controversy about the coin under serial No. 1 of this variety. While Allan,[1] Smith[2] and Bhramar Ghosh[3] are unanimous about metal, weight and size, they all differ in their interpretations of the figures, their positions and even the legends. The different interpretations of the above experts are given below in an intelligible form :—

	Obverse	Reverse
1.	*Allan*—As given above (S.No.1).	As given above (S.No.1).
2.	*Smith*—Bull standing right facing a railing with curved object (pillar with pendant garlands—Cunn.) rising from it. Early Brāhamaṇical legend forYo (Yau) dheyānāṁ.	Elephant moving right, Nandipada symbol above, thin coin. The elephant is passing a scythe-like object clearly shown.
3.	*Bhramar Ghosh*—Horse standing, r. with his head turned round and touching his back; with the manes flowing. The muzzle is distinctly equinine and not bovine, so also the hoofs. The tail is busky and is exactly like that of a horse, may be well contrasted with the bovine tail of No. 11 which is thin.	Similar.

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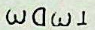
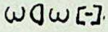
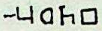
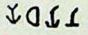
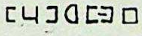
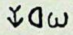
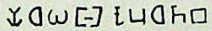
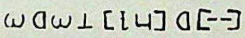
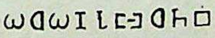
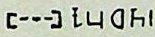
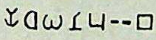
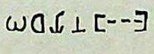
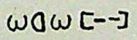
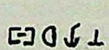
1. Allan, J., Op. Cit.
2. Smith, V.A., CCIM, Vol-I.
3. Ghosh, Bhramar, 'Ind. Cul.', Vol-III, No. 4, April, 1937, pp-762-3.

Bhramar Ghosh[1] in her article under reference differs in her opinion about the coin under serial No. 13 pl-XXI of Smith's catalogue. She is not prepared to consider it to belong to the 'Bull and Elephant' type. She opines that it forms a class by itself and considers it as a '*Horse and Elephant Type*' of the earlier Yaudheya coins.

Variety 'C'

Metal — Copper (Serial Nos. 8, 9 and 21).
Potin — All other coins.
Shape — Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	51.0	.75	Bull r. Before  uncertain inscription below:  	Elephant to r. above uncertain pennon-like object behind.
2.	51.5	.7	 	—do— —do—
3.	45.0	.7		—do—
4.	46.5	.7		—do—
5.	52.5	.7		—do—
6.	37.5	.7		—do—
7.	Frag-ment.	.6		—do—
8.	77.0	.85		—do—
9.	71.6	.6		—do—
10.	72.6	.6		—do—
11.	69.0	.75		—do—

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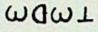
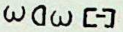
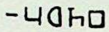
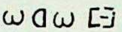
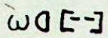
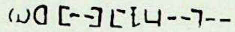
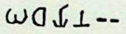
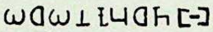
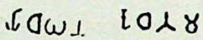
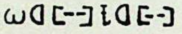
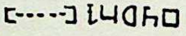
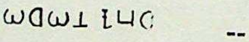
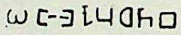
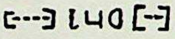
[1] Ghosh, Bhramar, Op. Cit., pp-762-63.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
12.	68.0	·8	Bull r. before  uncertain inscription below 	Elephant to r. above. Uncertain pennon-like object behind.
			 	—do—
13.	65.0	.7		—do—
14.	54.0	.6		—do—
15.	50.0	.7		—do—
16.	52.0	.7		—do—
17.	48.0	.7		—do—
18.	56.5	.75		—do—
19.	44.0	.65		—do—
20.	48.5	1.0		—do—
21.	69.0	.85		—do—
22.	45.5	.8		—do—

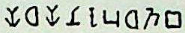
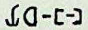
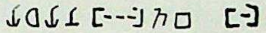
In this variety, a smaller module has been added but otherwise they resemble the coins in variety 'A'. The coin at serial No. 19 of this variety has a name ending in '*Mitra*', possibly '*Gomitra*'. It is in the early Brāhmī character.

This word has been put above the figure of the Bull. Coins under serial No. 20 can be connected with Nos. 6 & 12 while coins under serial Nos. 21 & 22 are the same as shown in IMC Plate-XXIII — 2. There is a trace of an inscription above the figure of the Bull in coin No. 21. It can be read as — '*Nade-Dhandevsa*' (For specimen see BMCAI, pp-268-69).

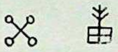
Variety 'D'

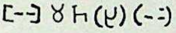
Metal — Copper.

Shape — Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	51.5	.7	Bull r. 	Elephant to r. above uncertain pennon-like object behind.
2.	52.5	.6		—do—
3.	47.5	.6		—do—

Yaudheya or Kannauj (Uncertain Origin)

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	46.0	.6		Type illegible.



mitasa

The coins of this variety contain the figure of a lone Bull. The legends on the coins of this variety are in two distinct words. They are in cursive character only. They seem to pertain to the late 2nd century B.C.

The last coin of Yaudheya or Kannauj (uncertain origin) has similarity with the coins of class 1—variety 'C' and most probably it would have come from *Behat*. Somehow they can be related to the Kannauj coins also.

Generally speaking, the coins of this class are similar to the coins of the *Arjunāyanas*. The Arjunāyanas had a close association with the Yaudheyas as it is evident from lIterature. The distinct legends on these coins have not been explained but the notation —'*Yaudheyānā*(*ṁ*)' at the top of the figure of the Bull is easy to understand. Various readings have been given to the 5 characters preceding it. They are :—

1. Kṛpudhanaba.[1]
2. Bhūpadhanusha.[2]

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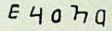
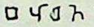
[1] Douglas, R. O., PMC, Vol-I, Pt-III, p-136 (Note 2).

[2] Smith, V. A., Op. Cit., p-181 (Note 1).

3. Bhūmidhanusha.[1]
4. Bahudhānaka.[2] (For specimen see BMCAI, p-268.)

These variations are probably caused because of the fact that some have read it in the form of an exergual legend while others as immediately preceding the *Yaudheyānā(ṁ)*. A thorough examination of many of them reveals that these five characters precede '*Yaudheyānāṁ*'. *Rodger's* reading, so far as it relates to the consonant, is correct. *Dhanaba* is certainly right but the syllable preceding it can be *Ku* or *Kra* and the second *pra* or *pu*. The possible reading would be  ='*Kupradhanaba*'. Thus this inscription would mean —'of the Yaudheya or Kupradhanaba. This Kupradhanaba is a geographical term.

The form of *dh* in the same inscription — ' ', in Yaudheya and ' ' in the other word is confusing. It is apparent that this mysterious word should be read the other way. On the coin under serial No. 6 of variety 'A', which contains legend completely reversed, we find that the notation starts with 'Yudh' while on the coins of variety 'B' we find a distinct break in the inscription. If we read it from left to right  the reading of Rapson — 'Bahudhānake' is meaningful. This Bahudhānake has been mentioned in the Mahābhārata as Nakula happened to conquer it.

This inscription on the coins is supposed to mean the possession of a very fertile tract of land in the Punjab by the Yaudheyas. These coins contain two distinct fabrics — one having a large size square characters in the inscriptions and the other containing smaller and neater size. These inscriptions are in cursive Brāhmī script. It therefore appears that these coins got their origin from two different mints.

Olar Pruffer[3] mentions about the following single piece of coin at *Baghaula* situated in the district of *Gurgaon* (eastern Punjab).

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[1] Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-141.

[2] Rapson, E.J., JRAS (1900), p-107 (Note 1).

[3] JNSI, Vol-XIII, Pt-I, p-101.

Metal — Copper with slight mixture of Tin.
Shape — Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	12.5	Dia. .05″ thick	Circular legend 'Yodheyā (nāṁ), below indistinct traces possibly of the Yūpa.	Faint traces of elephant walking with trunk upraised at left.

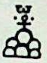
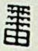
This coin has been cast in a mould. As per the general description of the contents of figure and legend, it can be put in this class only. The legend on other coins of this class can now be correctly read as '*Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhānakanaṁ.*'

But this particular coin in question is peculiar to the other coins of this class as it contains only the first word of the legend. It has been prepared in a mould and therefore it cannot be accepted that the major part of the complete legend could have been missed in the process of minting. Some other moulds of their type also contain only the first word of legends. It is really vague whether this phenomenon was caused because of careless engraving of the moulds or because of the fact that a particular section of the Yaudheyas, not belonging to the Bahudhānayaka country, enforced them.

This single letter of the legend cannot be attributed to the effects of corrosion or wear as it contains the complete shape of the coin in mint condition. It could have happened, of course, because of carelessness at the time of moulding, when either the mould might not have been cleaned properly before casting the coin or due to hasty casting, the other letters of the legend might have refrained from getting the contact of the molten metal.

All these presumptions remain presumptions only, as we cannot come to a definite conclusion in the absence of some other piece of this variety.

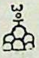
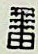
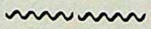
Class-3

We have a piece of silver coin of the Yaudheya regime, almost resembling the coin of the *Kuṇindas*. On the obverse of this silver coin the figure of six-headed *Kārttikeya* has been embossed, while on the reverse the figure of *Lakshmī* has been depicted. Lakshmī[1] is standing in-between  and  . She is facing a lotus. A river has been shown flowing below. On the reverse of the coins of the Kuṇindas, we find almost all the above ; while Lakshmī makes her appearance in the same pose on the obverse of the latter. The Brāhmī legend beginning from the left reads :—'*Bhāgavata - Svāmino - Brahmaṇya*' (—).

Cunningham obtained 4 specimens of this class of coins from Kangra district of Punjab.[2] Allan[3] considers these coins to belong to the later 2nd century A.D. This type of silver coin which contains the mention of the word 'Yaudheya' is very rare.[4]

Silver Coins

Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	26.0	.7	Kārttikeya six-headed, standing, holding spear in r. hand and resting l. hand on hip. 'Bhāgavatasv (ā)min(o) Brahmaṇya Y (au) dheya'	Goddess standing facing on lotus. on l.  on r.   below.

Cunningham[5] observes only a figure — 'Six-headed standing to front between Chaitya and Bodhi tree'. He is thus silent about the sex of this figure whereas Allan is definite about its pertaining to a female deity. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-270.)

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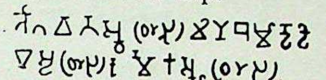
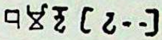
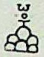
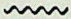
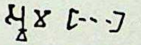
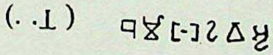
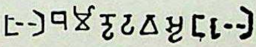
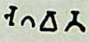
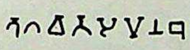
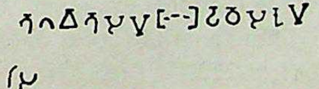
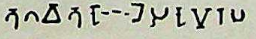
[1] Cunningham, A., Op. Cit., Pl-VI, 9.
[2] Ibid., p-79,
[3] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-cliii.
[4] Gupta, P. L., IHQ, Vol-XXVII, No. 1, p-207.
[5] Cunningham, A., Op. Cit., p-78.

Variety 'A'

Metal—Copper.
Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	180.0	1.0	Kārttikeya six-headed standing facing, holding spear in r. hand and resting l. arm on hip.  (Bhāgavatasv (ā), (or sa) mino Brahmaṇyadevasya (or sa) Kumārasya (or sa) around. (. . .) 	Goddess with radiate head standing facing with right hand raised and l. hand resting on hip.  on r. on l. below 
2.	166.0	1.0	as above ( ) 	as above
3.	142.0	1.0	as above 	as above
4.	128.0	1.0	Traces of inscription	as above
5.	140.2	.95		as above
6.	122.0	.95	Traces of inscription	as above
7.	30.0	.6	Traces of inscription	as above
8.	26.0	.6	 (. .)	as above
9.	158.5	1.0	similar  (. . .)	as above
10.	175.0	1.1		as above
11.	191.0	1.1		as above

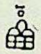
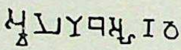
The coins of variety 'A' of this class have legends similar to the coins of silver discussed previously. Better specimens of this variety of coins found in the Punjab can help us to read the legends correctly.

On the obverse of coin under serial No. 1 of this variety Cunningham[1] detects the figure of a small bird on the shoulder of the deity. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-271 & CAI, pl-VI).

According to S.C. Kala,[2] 56 coins of this variety have been found near Lansdowne.

Variety 'B'

Metal—Copper.
Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	160.0	1.0	Kārttikeya as in variety 'A' but single-headed and head radiate. Traces of inscription.	Goddess standing facing, as on Variety 'A', but on l. and  on r.
2.	160.0	1.05	(. . .)  in field on r.	—do—
3.	130.5	1.0	Traces of inscription.	—do—
4.	141.0	1.0	—do—	—do—

Coins of variety 'B' are almost having the same symbols as the coins of variety 'A' contain. But these symbols embossed on each side of the Goddess exchange their places, and here, virtually, they differ from the coins of variety 'A'. (For specmen see BMCAI, p-272.)

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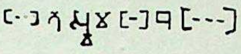
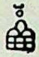
[1] Cunningham, A., Op. Cit., pl-VI, fig-12, p-78.

[2] JNSI, Vol-XVIII, p-47.

Variety 'C'

Metal—Copper.

Shape—Round.

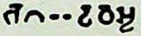
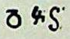
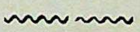
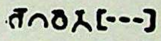
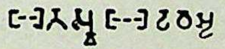
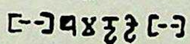
S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	158.0	1.0	Goddess standing facing with r. hand raised and l. resting on hip. 	Kārttikeya six-headed standing facing between on l. and  on r.

The coins of variety 'C' contain the figure of goddess Lakshmī and god Kārttikeya. They exchange their positions. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-272 & CAI, Pl-VI, 11.)

Variety 'D'

Metal—Copper.

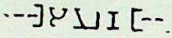
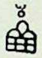
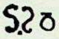
Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	146.0	1.0	Kārttikeya six-headed standing facing, holding spear as in var. 'C'. Legend as in var. 'C' but very incomplete 	Dear r. on r. above  on l.  below.
2.	144.0	1.1		--do—
3.	139.0	.95		—do—
4.	115.0	1.0		—do—
5.	122.0	.95	Traces of legend	—do—

(For specimen see BMCAI, p-273 & CAI, pl-VI.)

Variety 'E'

Metal—Copper.
Shape—Round.

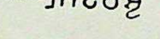
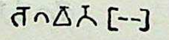
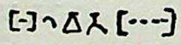
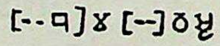
S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	126.0	1.0	Kārttikeya six-headed standing facing with r. hand raised l. on hip spear standing on r. bound with fillet. 	Dear l. on r. on l.   above

(For specimen see BMCAI, p-273.)

Variety 'F'

Metal — Copper.

Shape — Round.

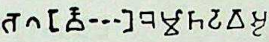
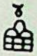
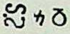
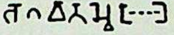
S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	121.0	1.0	Kārttikeya six-headed standing facing with r. hand raised, l. on hip. Spear standing on r. bound with fillet. 	Deer to l. below and above deer.
2.	113.0	1.0		—do—
3.	93.0	.9		—do—
4.	91.0	.9		—do—

(For specimen see BMCAI, p-274.)

Variety 'G'

Metal—Copper.

Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	104.0	.95	Kārttikeya six-headed standing facing with r. hand raised, l. on hip. Spear standing on r. Bound with fillets. 	Deer l. on r.  on l.  above.
2.	80.0	.95		—do—
3.	71.0	.9	Traces of legend	—do—
4.	75.0	.9	—do—	—do—

(For specimen see BMCAI, p-274.)

On the coins of varieties 'D' to 'G' the figure of Deer replaces the figure of the goddess on the reverse. This goddess appears along with the deer, on the obverse of the coins of the Kuṇindas. Besides the figure of the deer there are small symbols 卐 also, with which we are familiar, as we have seen them on the coins of the Kuṇindas. The varieties have negligible variations.

After the publication of the catalogue of Allan (which included almost all the coins of the Yaudheyas found till then), 119 coins have been found from a village near Lansdowne in the Garhwal district of Uttar Pradesh. Out of these, 16 are of the variety 'D'.

These coins are the property of one Shri Jineshwar Das of Allahabad.[1] They bear a figure with spear on the obverse and a deer, mountain and tree in railing on the reverse.

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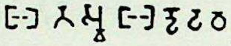
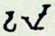
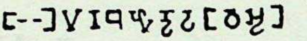
[1] JNSI, Vol-XVIII, Pt-I, p-47.

Variety 'H'

Metal— Copper.

Shape—Round.

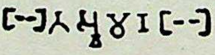
S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	172.4	1.0	Kārttikeya six-headed standing facing with r. hand raised. l. on hip. Spear standing on r. Bound with fillet. 	Deer r. before building on l. above  (darma) above.
2.	132.0	.95		—do—

On the coins of variety 'H' the word 'Darma' has been inscribed above the deer. It is presumed that this word 'Darma' has been used to mean 'Dharma'. The figure of the tree in the railing has been eliminated. In place of this figure, the figure of a temple has been put. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-275.)

Variety 'I'

Metal—Copper.

Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	152.5	.96	Similar to the coins of variety 'H' but the deity is Śiva with trident. 	Deer r. before Rest illegible.

On the coins of this variety we notice the replacement of Lord Kārttikeya by Lord Śiva. Lord Śiva has beed depicted holding his trident.

Probably, the 2nd century A.D. is the period of these copper coins. The copper coins are embossed with the name of the tribe. The series of these copper coins of the same type and markings can therefore be safely considered to belong to the Yaudheyas.

There is a little space between '*nya*' and '*yan*'. This suggests that '*sa*' should be supplied from the copper coins. And thus, the legend can be read :—

'*Bhāgavata Svāmino Brahmaṇya Devasya* (*or sa*)
Kumārasya (*or sa*)
meaning
'of the Brahmaṇya, the divine lord of the Yaudheyas'
(Brahmaṇya is the other name of Kārttikeya).

The workmanship of these coins is not very artistic and they are rough in appearance. Besides this, they contain fragmentary legends on them. The types are similar to those of the silver ones. (For specimen see BMCAI, p-275.).

P. Banerjee[1] has made a reference of two other coins, over and above the coins contained in the catalogue of Allan. They bear the following details similar to class-3 types of coins classified by Allan. They are at present in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Metal – Copper.

Shape—Irregular.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	116.3	Figure of Kārttikeya facing, the portion from neck to the head being almost effaced, represented perhaps a single-headed Kārttikeya holding spear in r. hand, l. hand on hip. Legend partially extant. Visible portion is :— '*Nyadeva*'	Deer standing to r. below water or river and its grassy bank represented by vertical lines. Deer seems to be standing in water. Above a vase. The vase is however partially obliterated to its l. is a symbol perhaps of a tree as Smith has suggested.[2]

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1. Banerjee, P., JNSI, Vol-XIV, Pts-I & II, p-45.
2. Smith, V.A., Op. Cit., p-182.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
2.	119.5	Six-headed figure of Kārttikeya facing, spear in r. hand, l. hand on hip. The extant legend reads:—'Brahmaṇ(ya)' as part of the full legend referred to above.	Deer standing to r. Above is a vase almost of curved shape having rings or handles on either sides and decorative lines on body. A plant is coming out of its mouth, top of the plant is effaced but branches and line are clear.

Smith while describing the symbol inscribed at the reverse of the coin at serial No. 2 above has taken the vase, the plant coming out of the vase and the decorative lines to be a complete single symbol of a shrine with a curved roof.[1]

But this does not appear to be correct. It should be noted that most of the Yaudheya coins, having the figure of 'Deer' on reverse, contain an associated symbol of a vase with a flower plant in it. Although vase, flower and plant and deer are not uncommon objects for the coinage ot the Yaudheyas—this find has a significant point to note. The coin under serial No. 1 of this collection has the symbol of a river along with its grassy bank which is a very rare thing in the coins of this tribe. The coin under serial No. 2 is different in its motif from all other coins of this class so far as its shape and design are concerned.

A hoard of 164 copper coins was discovered in the year 1936 at village *Panjya* in *Chakrata* tehsil of *Dehradoon* district. They pertain to class-3 of Allan's catalogue. On their obverse usually the figure of Kārttikeya is embossed. The reverse shows a surprising variety in symbols. The coins belong to the later Yaudheyas and they can be assigned to the 2nd century A.D.

There are differences in their individual size and fabric. Some bear inscriptions in bold Brāhmī letters while the others have on them letters in cursive Brāhmī characters. The symbols change their positions from coin to coin. Some new symbols and new figures of animals constitute new varieties.

Rao Bahadur Prayag Dayal[2] has very laboriously classified them and deciphered their legends.

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1. Ibid.
2. JNSI, Vol-II (1940), pl-X, pp-109-112.

Panjya Coins

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	129	1.95	Kārttikeya six-headed (outer row of 5 heads has crests), standing facing holding spear in r. hand and resting l. hand on hip.	Goddess standing facing. Tree on right.
2.	92	1″	Kārttikeya six-headed (upper row of 3 has crests) spear standing left.	Goddess with radiate head, standing facing with r. hand raised and l. hand resting on hip. Chaitya surmounted by 'Triratna' on l. Tree on right.
3.	143	1″	Kārttikeya standing with a vase in field on right.	Goddess six-headed (the outer row of 5 has crests) standing facing with right hand raised and l. hand resting on hip. Chaitya on l. Tree on right.
4.	109	.95	Kārttikeya six-headed without crests, standing.	Goddess, Chaitya on left. Tree on right. Circular mark below Chaitya.
5.	153	1″	Kārttikeya six-headed without crests, standing facing with r. hand raised towards spear on l. hand resting on hip.	Śiva, three-headed, standing, Chaitya on l. Tree on right.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
6.	195	1.05	Kārttikeya standing on lotus with a vase in field on r. inscription 'Brahmaṇya Devasya'.	Goddess standing on lotus tree on l. Chaitya on right.
7.	114	1.05	Kārttikeya standing facing holding spear.	Deer standing to right. Tree on right. Chaitya on l. Building above.
8.	144	.59	Kārttikeya standing pointing with uplifted right hand to a Cock standing (?).	Deer standing to r. Tree on r. Chaitya on left. Vase above.
9.	96	.59	Kārttikeya six-headed with six crests, standing facing with r. hand raised and l. resting on hip.	Deer standing to r. Tree on l. Chaitya on r.
10.	160	.85	Traces of Kārttikeya standing.	Bull standing to r. Tree on r. Chaitya on l.
11.	142	.9	—do—	Ass standing to r. on some round object. Tree on r. Chaitya on l.
12.	122	.95	Kārttikeya six-headed standing facing, holding spear in r. hand and resting left arm on hip.	Horse standing to r. Tree and Chaitya above.
13.	159	.9	Śiva one-headed standing facing holding Triśūla.	Deer standing to l. Chaitya on l.
14.	115	1″	Kārttikeya six-headed (having six crests), standing facing.	Deer standing to r. before an incomplete building. Letter 'Darma' above deer.
15.	82	.9	Mutilated.	Leopard standing to left.

Coins of Class-3 found by S.C. Kala
(All Copper)

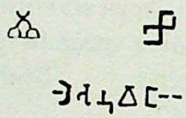
S.No.	*Weight*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.		Kārttikeya six-headed, standing facing, holding spear. Traces of legend.	Deer r. Tree within railing on l. and Chaitya on r. Below indistinct symbol.
2.		Goddess standing Chaitya on l., other symbols and legends indistinct.	Indistinct.
3.		Six-headed Kārttikeya vase r.	Six-headed deity. Tree on r.
4.		Kārttikeya six-headed with r. hand raised and l. on hip. Spear standing to r. Bound with fillets.	Deer l. vase above deer.
5.		Indistinct figure and legend.	Deer r. vase above Chaitya on r.
6.		Standing male figure of deity with spear on l.	Goddess with radiate head, Chaitya on l. Tree in railing over.
7.	151.05	Kārttikeya standing facing holding spear in r. hand. Legend — 'Brahmaṇya deva'.	Two deer standing showing as one above the other, vase above.
8.		Multi-headed Kārttikeya holding spear on r. hand. Peacock on r.	Multi - headed deity, tree in railing on r. River of ladder sign below.
9.		Above Kārttikeya, below 'Bhānuvasa'.	Standing deity.
10.		Above Chaitya, below 'Rājño Bhanuvasa'.	Six-headed Kārttikeya with spear of Standard.
11.		Bhānuvasa.	Six-headed Kārttikeya.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
12.	130.25	'Rāvaṇasya' Crested goddess below.	Standing male figure outside an arched gateway.
13.		'Rāvaṇasya'.	Worn-out.
14.	113.9	'Vanasya' below a single-headed female deity, Chaitya on right.	Trident on r. and another symbol on 1.
15.		Above a symbol below 'Rāvana'.	A trident on r. and trident combined with battle-axe on 1. inside a beaded border.

Class-4

As per the catalogue of Allan, there is only one coin of this class. It was found along with the upwards of 300 of the preceding class.[1] It is probably of the same mould as the coins of class-3.

Metal—Copper.
Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	126.0	.9	 (Bhānuva) Snake below.	Trident and Standard.

It contains an incomplete legend — '*Bhānuva*'. This word 'Bhānuva' has been placed in between a mountain and a *Svastika* above, while the figure of a snake has beend epicted below. On the reverse of this coin the figures of a trident and a standard have been embossed. Both these trident and the standard have been put in a separate railing. The complete inscription is supposed to be '*Bhānuvarmasa*'. Allan[1] considers it to belong to the later 2nd century A.D.

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[1] Cunnihgham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-145.

S.C. Kala[2] refers about a treasure of coins possessed by one Shri Jineshwar Das of Allahabad. The total number of coins of this find is 119. Out of these he has classified 25 to belong to this class-4. On one of the coins the legend reads—'*Rājño Bhānuva*' and on another one '*Bhānuvasya*'. They are of different weights and the arrangement of symbols on them varies.

(For specimen see BMCAI, p-272 & CAI, pl-VI, 14.)

Class-5

A single small copper coin forms the singular piece under this classification of Allan. It is square in shape. The legend contained on this coin is (Yau) dheyān (āṁ). This legend has been embossed above the figure of a bull which finds position to the right. The legends are in the Brāhmī script of the 1st century B.C.

Metal—Copper.
Shape—Square.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	9.50	.5 (sq.)	Bull r. (—) 𑀥𑀬𑀦 (Yau)dh(e) y(ā) - n(āṁ) above.	Illegible.

In the opinion of Allan[3] these coins pertain to the late 2nd and the Ist centuries B.C. They indicate the period of independence from the fall of the Mauryas right up to the coming of the Kuṣāṇas.

Class-6

The coins under this class are made of copper. They are all well made and have better finish. An influence of the late *Kuṣāṇa* style and type (3rd and 4th century A.D.) is very clearly visible. The *Brāhmī* script contained on these coins has greatly been influenced by the *Gupta* script.

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[1] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-cliii
[2] JNSI, Vol-XVIII, pt-I, p-47.
[3] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-cliii.

The obverse of the coins contains the figure of the war-god *Kārttikeya.* He is standing with his peacock which is in the left side and at the left foot of the god. It has been mentioned in the epic (Mahābhārata, Śalyaparva—46.51) that *Garuḍa* presented a peacock to Kārttikeya and *Agni* presented a red cock to him. This red-cock which formed his ensign became perched on the top of his chariot (Mahābhārata, Vanparva—229.31). The combination of both of these birds has been illustrated on the late *Lala-Bhagat stone pillar*[1] from *Kanpur* district which has been dedicated to *Kumāra.*

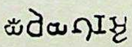
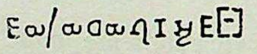
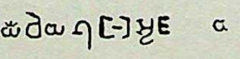
But in the iconography of the Gupta period, Kārttikeya is generally shown riding on a peacock.[2] This is identical with the peacock in the coin of *Kumāragupta.*

Here Lord Kārttikeya is depicted holding a spear in his right hand while his left hand is on the hip.

On the reverse, we find the figure of a female deity. She is walking to the left. Her right hand is raised and her left hand is on her hip at the border of the dots. There are some minute variations on the coins of varieties 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D' of this class of coins.

Variety 'A'

Metal—Copper.
Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	177.0	1.0	Kārttikeya standing facing, holding spear in r. hand, l. hand on hip, peacock to l. at his l. foot.   (Yaudheya gaṇasya jaya)	Female deity walking to l. with r. hand raised and l. hand on hip; border of dots.
2.	173.8	1.0		—do—

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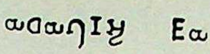
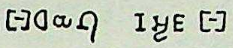
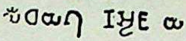
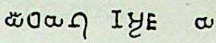
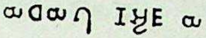
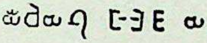
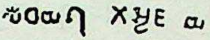
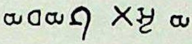
1. JUPHS (Jul.—1930), pp-38-41, pl-II; JISOA (1937), p-129.
2: Cf. 'Raghuvaṁśa'-VI, 4, 'Mayuraprishthasrayana Guhera'.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
3.	167.0	.95		—do—
4.	166.0	.95		—do—
5.	165.5	.95		—do—
6.	163.0	.9		— do—
7.	163.0	.9		—do—
8.	161.5	.9		—do—
9.	157.0	.9		—do—
10.	159.5	1.0		—do—

On the coins of the above variety, the goddess is alone. As per the opinion of Cunningham, she is '*Helios*', '*Mithra*' or '*Mao*' as found on the coins of the *Kuṣāṇas*.

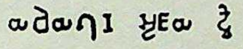
But Allan suggested[1] that she is not Helios, Mithra or Mao rather she is goddess *Lakshmī*.

(For specimen see BMCAI, pp-276-77.)

Variety 'B'

Metal—Copper.

Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	177.0	1.0	Kārttikeya standing facing, holding spear in r. hand, l. hand on hip; peacock to l. at his l. foot  (Yaudheya gaṇasyajaya) at the end of the leg end.	Female deity walking to l. with r. hand raised and l. hand on hip; border of dots. A flower -vase (Kalaśa) on l. and inverted triśūla on r.

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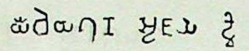
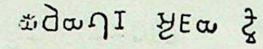
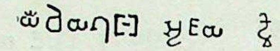
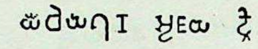
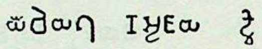
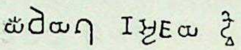
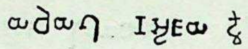
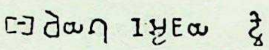
[1] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-cli.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
2.	172.0	1.0		—do—
3.	173.0	.95		—do—
4.	171.6	.95		—do—
5.	168.2	.95		—do—
6.	165.0	.09		—do—
7.	165.0	.09		—do—
8.	160.0	.95		—do—
9.	160.3	.95		--do—

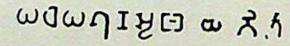
On the coins of variety 'B', we come across a *Kalaśa* at the left side. They contain inverted trident (*Triśūla*) also at the right side about which Allan infers that it must have been copied from the famous Kuṣāṇa symbol. This symbol was later adopted by the Guptas.

In this variety of coins we find the word '*Dvi*' at the end of the legend. This is written in the Brāhmī script (See Nos. 1 & 9). This has been interpreted as 'Dvitiya' or 'Second'.

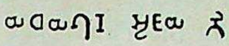
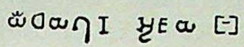
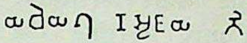
(For specimen see BMCAI, p-278 & CAI, pl-VI, 7.)

Variety 'C'

Metal—Copper.
Shape—Round.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	172.5	.95	Kārttikeya standing facing, holding spear in r. hand, l. hand on hip; peacock to l. at his l. foot.  (Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jaya) and त्रे (tri) at the end of legend.	Female deity walking to l. with r. hand raised and l. hand on hip; border of dots. Shell on l. and chakra on r.

[J12

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
2.	163.0	1.0		—do—
3.	161.5	.9		—do—
3.	159.2	1.0		—do—

Variety 'C' coins contain symbol of a Conch-Shell on their left and to the right, the figure of two snakes facing each other in upright position. These two snakes are separated from each other by a vertical straight line drawn between them. The legend on all these coins is 'Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jaya'—meaning 'victory of the Yaudheya tribe'.

The word '*Tri*' in the Brāhmī script has also been inscribed on the coins along with the legend. This has been interpreted to mean 'Tritiya' or 'Third'. Inferences have been drawn that this inscription signified the third section of the Yaudheyas.

(For specimen see BMCAI, p-278.)

'*Rāvaṇa*' appears to be the name of some individual. He was perhaps a chief or a leader of the Yaudheya tribe. Coins bearing the legend '*Rāvaṇa*' were probably issued by him. It is just possible that he might have tried to seize the democratic set-up of the tribe and issue coins in his own name; breaking the tradition once again so far as the issue of coinage by the tribe of the Yaudheyas is concerned.

As very few coins bearing this legend have been found, it is evident that he could not succeed in continuing it for a longer time.

Jaiprakash[1] asserts that '*Bhānuva*' could have been a tribal chief who might have been authorised by the tribal assembly to issue coins in his own name but it is beyond any justification because we have found very few coins with this name. Had he been authorised to issue coins in his name he would have issued much more and we could have come across some more coins of this series.

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[1] JNSI, Vol-XXVII (1965), pt-II, p-135.

4. (b) PROVENANCE AND TECHNIQUE OF MANUFACTURE

The central place of the Yaudheyas from where the administration of the government was carried out was Rohitaka (modern Rohtak). Rohitaka or Rohtak and Bahudhānyaka are the names of the same territory. Rohtak had a mint of the Yaudheyas. Coins bearing the legends - '*Bahudhānake*', etc., and their moulds have been found at this place.[1]

A hoard of 164 coins of the Bahudhānyke and the Brahmaṇya Type was discovered in 1936. They are at present kept in the Lucknow Museum. The hoard was unearthed in village '*Panjya*' in *Khat Bana* in *Chakrata* Tehsil of Dehradoon district. They belong to the 2nd century A.D. They are classified in Class-3 of Allan's catalogue.

A baked clay seal bearing legend in perfect Saṅskrit of the Christian era has been found in the ruins near Rohtak. It bears a hole and has a mark of string. It was found by Sahni. It is the singular clay seal bearing Saṅskrit legend. The legend reads :—

> *Bhadramitra*—(2nd line)—Sya, Droṇighate. Dronighate the pass Dooni (lit. mountain valley), was probably a pass in the Śiwālika at or near (Dehra) Dun. Bhadramitra was definitely a Yaudheya officer in charge of the Dun area.

The coins of the Yaudheya are found in the eastern Punjab and in the area lying between the rivers *Jamuna* and *Sutlej*. Between *Delhi* and *Karnal* at a place named *Sonepat*, two large hoards have been unearthed.[2] Again at *Jagadhari* in the eastern Punjab and in *Kangra* district as also at *Karnal* a large number of them have been found.

Cunningham's 300 copper pieces and silver pieces were from the area lying between Sutlej and the Jamunā rivers. They have been found at :—

> Depālpur, Satgarhā, Ajudhan, Kahror (Kharar of the present time) and Multan lying west of Sutlej and Bhaṭner, Abhor, Sirsā, Hānsī, Pānipat and Sonepat lying east of river Sutlej.

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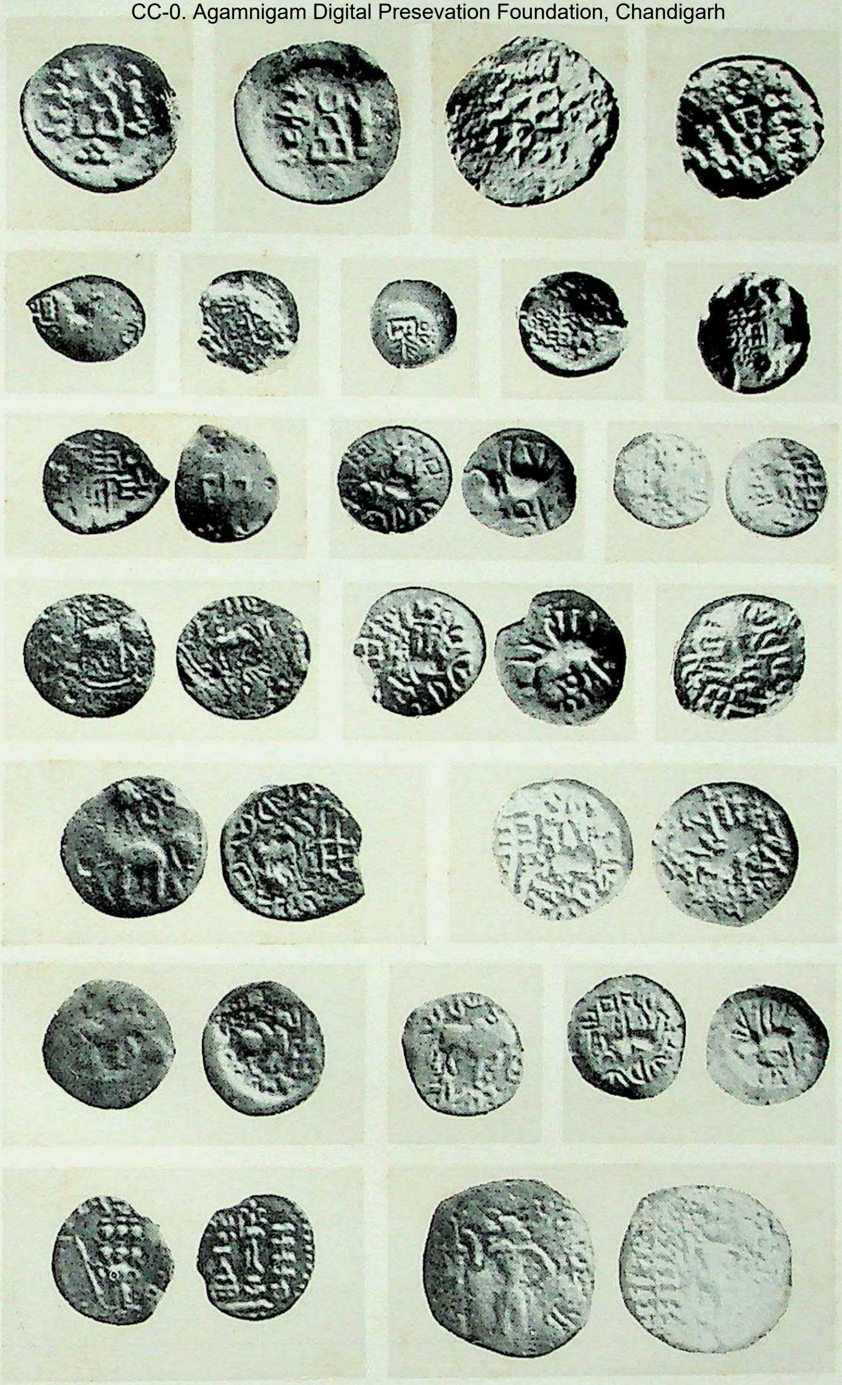
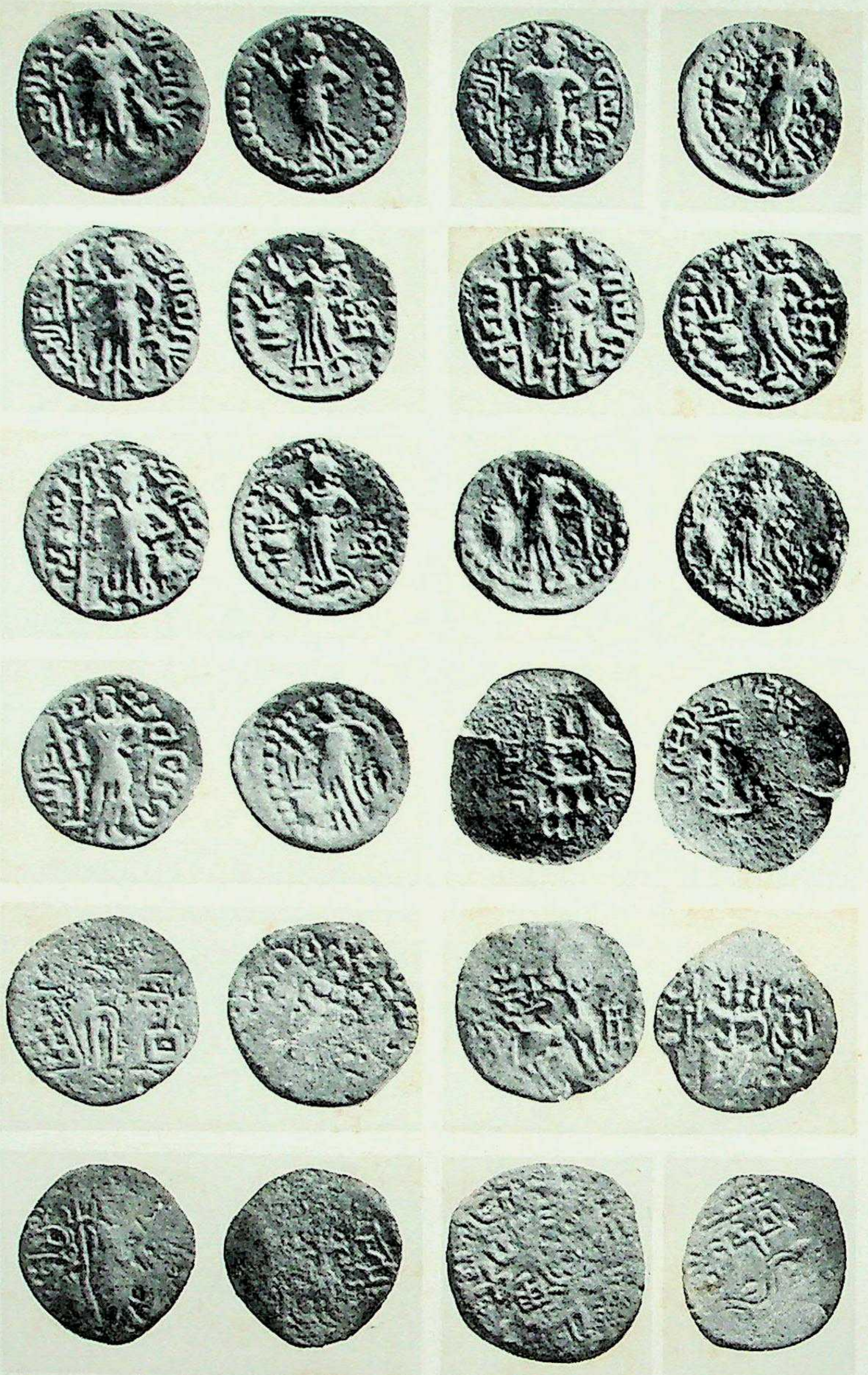
[1] Sahni, B., The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India, p-7 ff.

[2] Cunningham, A., CAI, p-76.



Plate—I, The Yaudheya Coins



Plate—II, The Yaudheya Coins

But still, there is a great deal of confusion about the provenance of the coins of this tribe as they have not been accurately recorded as per their different classes and varieties. *Captain Caulty* found the specimen of Class-1 (Varieties 'B', 'C' & 'E'), Class-2 and Class-6 from Behat[1] which is situated near Saharanpur. This Behat is an ancient site.

The whole of Punjab, as far as Delhi and Ludhiana, have been supposed to be the find-spot of the coins of this tribe. The terrain lying in between the Sutlej and the Jamuna also contained these coins.

In the suburbs of *Lansdowne*, a place in the district of *Garhwal*, 119 coins were found. They are at present in the possession of one Shri Jineshwar Das, ex-special manager of the Allahabad Court of Wards. This has been referred to by S.C. Kala.[2]

U.S. Rao[3] mentions about the discovery of a number of copper coins along with some moulds from near a village named *Naurangabad* about 5 miles east of *Bhiwani* town of Rohtak district. He came across these coins and moulds in the year 1964. On one of the largest pieces of the clay-mould he found the legend '*Yaudheyān (āṁ)*' in the *Brāhmī* script on the upper portion and the portrait of a humped bull with horns standing to right.

From this a conclusion can be drawn that adjacent to the *Rohtak* town, there was a mint of the Yaudheyas in the 1st century B.C. The other mints might have been situated at *Khokrakot* (Rohtak), *Sunet* (near Ludhiana) and at *Naurangabad* (near Bhiwani). Naurangabad is situated at a distance of about 30 miles west of Rohtak, now in the *Hissar* district.

From the site of *Sunet*, 3 miles west of Ludhiana town, some moulds have been found. The collection of Carr Stephens of Ludhiana included 3 moulds from them. In 1884 he sent them to Dr. A.F.R. Rornle who mistook them to be seals in his description.[4] 41 moulds from this site are kept in the *National Museum*, 38 in the *Bhārata Kalā Bhawan* of the *Benaras Hindu University*.

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[1] JASB, III (1834), Pl-XVIII, IV (1835), Pl-XXIV, PE, pls-IV and XIX.

[2] JNSI, Vol-XVIII, pt-I, p-46.

[3] Ibid., Vol-XXVII (1965), p-86.

[4] Sahni, B., Op. Cit., p-33.

Sunet has a great historic background. In the *Gaṇapātha*, *Pāṇini* has mentioned it as *Sunetra* and this Sunetra has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the son of Dhṛtrāṣṭra. The city may have been named after him as Sunetra but probably after some time could have been popular with the local people with the changed name of Sunet. As the city appears to be very old, there is every likelihood of the existence of a mint in ancient times.

A big hoard of the Yaudheya coins was discovered in 1938-39 near the village *Jaijaivanti* in the Jind Tehsil of the Punjab.[1] It is situated at a distance of 25 miles west of Rohtak. The coins bear the legend—'*Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jayaḥ*' with the words '*Dvi*' and '*Tri*'.

In July 1961 at a village about 4 miles from Sonepat in the Rohtak district a big hoard of the Yaudheya coins bearing the legends as mentioned above, was discovered. The coins are extremely rusty and deciphering the legend is a great problem.

So far as the manufacture of coins in India is concerned, we know about their being manufactured by means of 'Casting', since the 5th century B.C.[2] The north Indian tribal state commenced the issue of coins with regular devices and occasionally with inscription. Die-system was adopted by them later. In the beginning the device was on one side and later the double die-system came into vogue. Before the introduction of circular dies, square or rectangular dies were in use. The coins at first used to be square or rectangular but the Yaudheya coins were circular.

The Yaudheya coins are often larger in shape. The *Elephant and Bull* type coins of the Yaudheyas in Smith's Catalogue are .7″ to .8″. The *Brahmaṇya* type from .97″ to 1.12″ and the latest of the Yaudheya coins are generally from .9 to 1.05″ (Smith's no. 25). Thus we see that the later issues were larger in size and heavier in weight.

During this period, sometimes coins were dipped in silver and passed off as silver coins. It cannot be said with certainty whether this practice was adopted by the state or by the dishonest forgers. But, by all means, this was a bad practice and a means of deception and so the old bankers were in the habit of

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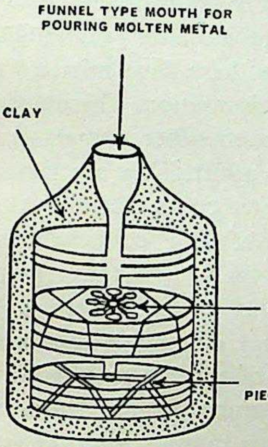
1. JNSI, Vol-XXIV (1962), pts-I & II, p-138.
2. Brown, C.J., 'The Coins of India', p-18.

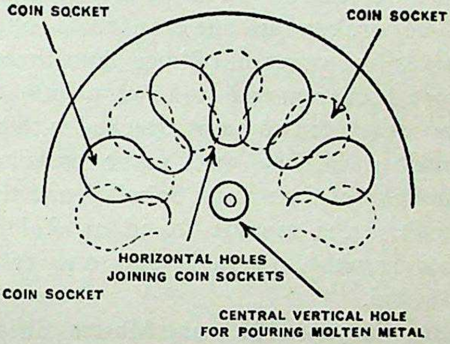
testing the coins by striking them with sharp piece of metal. The correct reading of the legend and proper identification of the type, thus, becomes impossible.

From the discovery of about 1000 moulds at *Khokrakot* near Rohtak, very interesting details about the method of the manufacture of the coins by the Yaudheyas are gleaned. A set of 8 moulds arranged on a disc round a central hole (obverse and reverse disc being prepared separately) have been found from there. They helped to turn out a number of coins in one operation. The obverse and reverse discs may have been laid in piles in exact position. This used to be done by the help of the line marked on the edges. Molten metal was then poured into the central hole from where they reached the sockets through the 8 channels radiating from the central hole.

When the coins came out from the moulds they used to be connected with each other with the excess metal in the channels. They were then separated from each other and finally filed and finished.


FUNNEL TYPE MOUTH FOR POURING MOLTEN METAL
CLAY
COIN SOCKET
TAPE, TYING PIECES OF BLOCKS

INTERIOR LAY-OUT OF THE MOULD


COIN SOCKET
COIN SOCKET
HORIZONTAL HOLES JOINING COIN SOCKETS
CENTRAL VERTICAL HOLE FOR POURING MOLTEN METAL

SKETCH SHOWING THE TRANSVERSAL SECTION

The legends on them are in two parts—the upper and the lower. The lower part was read by K.P. Jayaswal[1] as '*Bahu-Dhānake*' and *Bahudhānake* while the upper part read as '*Yaudheyana*'. It is, therefore, clear that the mint belonged to the Bahudhānyaka who were no other than the Yaudheyas as it is further testified by the upper part of the legend also. These

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[1] JBORS, Vol-XXII (1936), pt-II, p-60.

Bahudhānyaka coins were of '*white bronze*'—a mixture of tin and copper and were more valuable than copper coins.

Negatives of the moulds were first made by using a number of different models. It appears that some models were used more frequently than the others. Actual models used for the manufacture of a series of coins were not normally used after the first coin was cast. For casting the rest of the series the coins themselves were used as models and the help of the original models ceased to be taken. This was a common practice even in Rome and we are aware of this practice among the forgers even today.

Moulds were made up of a series of discs placed in a vertical column. They were put like a pile of coins. The whole pile used to be plastered-over with clay, leaving at the top a funnel-shaped crater for pouring the molten metal. These vertical holes were joined by horizontal holes opening into the coin sockets. When the molten metal was poured, it needed to travel upto the gaps which contained the impression of the obverse and reverse both. When the mould used to cool down, it used to be broken up and the coins obtained after removing the spokes by cutting and filing. Sometimes these flaws missed the process of removal and went into circulation. There are instances where two coins attached with each other remained in circulation. They were never broken apart. They are genuine examples of Cast coins. Sahni[1] found three coins after breaking some of the moulds found at Rohtak. The coins were still sticking with the moulds and one of them has the lug still attached.

In the year 1969 one Master Bharat Singh,[2] a resident of village Bamla, found some small pieces of earthen moulds which had been used for casting coins near Naurangabad. From the study of these pieces it appears that these moulds are similar to those discovered at Khokrakot. Most of these moulds bear figures on both sides which is a clear testimony of the technique of casting coins adopted by these people being exactly similar to the Khokrakot minters who had devised a pile-type interior lay-out of the moulds with a central funnel type mouth at the top for pouring molten metal.

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1. Sahni, B., The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India, p-20.
2. JNSI, Vol-XXXII (1970), pt-II, p-158.

These Naurangabad moulds differ slightly from their Khokrakot counterparts. Firstly they contain spaces for casting of 14 coins in a group (8 in the upper group and 6 in the lower) instead of 8 coins as we find in Khokrakot moulds and secondly the spaces inside the moulds are not directly connected with the central channel rather each space of the coin is connected with another space. The molten metal in this case, therefore, passed through one coin-space to the other unlike the Khokrakot moulds where each space for the coin was fed with the molten metal directly from the central channel.

The Khokrakot type of casting was simpler and easier but the Yaudheyas adopted the difficult method probably because they wanted to produce more coins in one operation. The Naurangabad moulds are comparatively lighter in weight than the Khokrakot ones and the figures are clear and more attractive.

4. (c) TYPES AND SYMBOLS

Hinduism declares--"the ultimate truth to be unknowable and undefinable and endeavours to approach reality by the use of suggestive type of symbol."[1] Hindus are famous for making maximum use of symbolism in various aspects of their life. In coinage also we come across various symbols representing some kind of religious significance. The tribal coinage portray on them the symbols for their national deity, patron saints, their vāhanas and objects peculiar to them (weapons etc.) as also the national standards of the tribe.

The following devices and symbols have been found depicted on the Yaudheya coins :—

1. Bull.
2. Elephant.
3. Deer.
4. Peacock.
5. Tree-in-railing.
6. Human figure standing (warrior).
7. Lakshmī.
8. Chakra.
9. Scythic-like object (Yūpa).

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[1] Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol-XII, p-141.

10. Stūpa.
11. Triśūla.
12. Nandipada.
13. Shell.
14. Swastika.
15. Vase.
16. Tribal sign.
17. Two 'S' with a line in between.
18. Triangular headed symbol.
19. Zig-zag line depicting snake or river.
20. Circle with dots around.
21. Curved object within railing.
22. Hill so-called chaitya.
23. Six-headed Shaṣthī or Kṛttikā.
24. Śiva.

1. Bull

Bull signifies power. They have been put on the coins of the Yaudheyas primarily to depict the power of this fighting and brave tribe. Coins bearing this symbol have been considered by Rapson (IC, p-15) to belong to about 100 B.C.

In the device '*Bull before a tree within railing*', which is one of the commonest symbols in the tribal coins of India we find a hidden reference of the '*Śulagava*' ceremony. The '*Gṛhyasūtra*' (IV-8.36) informs us that this sort of sacrifice was supposed to be of great value. The name of the Yaudheya tribe is accompanied on such figures on the coins.

2. Elephant

Elephants depict the idea of magnanimity coupled with great power. The Yaudheyas used this figure on their coins to portray the magnanimity of sway and royal authority of their tribal administration.

Besides the above, we know that elephants formed a major force for their warlike activities. They had some 5,000 elephants in their fighting forces. They had been trained for fighting and they were all of very superior size.

We know also of the fact that their democratic parliament consisted of representatives who had to offer one elephant each to the central power and the coinage may have contained the figure of this animal to signify the composition of such administration and also to please the members of the government and the men of their constituencies.

3. Deer

Besides its beauty the deer is symbolic of great speed. Yaudheyas were very famous for their mobility, for their defence and also in their campaigns.

Areas of northern India which formed their territories still abound in this animal. Deer might have been taken to be embossed on their coinage to portray both the above ideas.

Coins bearing the figure of deer are very interesting. They very closely follow the Kuṇinda coins. In place of Lakshmī, we find a deer on the obverse of the Yaudheya coins. The legends are not discernible. There are some coins bearing this symbol on which two deer are embossed while some contain on them one deer facing right and on some we find the deer facing left.

4. Peacock

Mentions have been made in the epics that '*Garuḍa*' presented a Peacock to Kārttikeya and '*Arunā*' gave him a cock. Kārttikeya is usually shown riding a peacock. The Yaudheyas considered Kārttikeya as their tutelary deity and this peacock happened to be his '*Vāhana*' (vehicle). They put Kārttikeya on their coins and as a natural course this peacock also found place on their coinage since it was related to their favourite God.

Even these days, in the areas occupied by the Jats, Gujjars and Ahirs of Rohtak and Hissar which is considered to be the locality of the Yaudheyas, this bird enjoys great reverence. Peacock has been declared India's national bird, but it is getting almost extinct in other parts of the country because of its wanton destruction by poachers for its palatable meat but it is not safe for anybody to think of killing this bird in Rohtak and other parts Hariyana. The birds appear to be almost domesticated there and move with complete safety in fields and in villages.

This respect for the bird is presumably a tradition drawn from the forefathers of the populace (the Yaudheyas).

5. Tree in railing

Ṛgveda (Vedic Index, Pt-I, p-33) refers to the worship of *Arṇyam*. In the *Atharvaveda* (V.4.3), *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII.30.33), *Upaniśada* (Chhan. Up. VIII.5.3), we find the mention of tree worship.

According to *Hutton*, sanctity was attached to the Negrito Substratum of the Indian population who were the earliest inhabitants of India and South-east Asia from whom it was adopted by the Āryans. (Marshall, J., 'Mohenjodaro & Indus Valley Civilization', pp-63-65.)

Trees appearing on the coins of the Yaudheyas have been put within enclosure. This is an indispensable sign of their sanctity. It was considered previously to be of Buddhistic origin but the excavations of *Mohenjodaro* and *Harappa* have proved that the tree-worship was prevalent in ancient India since Chalcolithic times.

6. Human figure standing (Warrior)

This figure has been accepted to belong to Lord Kārttikeya, by all historians. Lord Kārttikeya was the tutelary deity of the tribe. The Yaudheyas were principally fighters and therefore looked towards this god of war for his blessings and favours for their success in campaigns and strategy and therefore the Yaudheyas gave a suitable position to this deity on their coins.

Besides the above it also denotes the Military-might of the tribe. This type was an imitation of the Kuṣāṇa models. (Rapson, E.J., IC & CCIM, p-165.). They remained in circulation till the completion of the conquest of northern India by the Guptas (about 380 A.D.). They are larger in size and better executed than the coins of class 'B'.

Names like Ṣadāṇan, Skanda, Viśākhā, Subrahmaṇya, Kumāra, Mahāsenā and Brahmaṇyadeva are all synonyms for Kārttikeya. The Mahābhārata counts Brahmaṇya as one of the titles of Skanda (Vanaparva, 231.55) and states that Skanda was the commander of the divine forces for the specific purpose of protecting the Brāhmaṇas and the cows (Vanaparva, 229.23).

In the 2nd century A.D. bi-metallism was introduced along with this type of coins. These are later than the Amoghabhūti type coins of the Kuṇindas.

The coins of the Yaudheyas bearing this symbol have, on their obverse, the figure of the six-headed god (Kārttikeya) standing on lotus, facing with left hand on hip and right hand raised and a barbed spear on the left.

7. Lakshmī

Lakshmī, the goddess of blissful prosperity, is respected by the Indians of all religions and sects. A lot of importance is given to her on different '*Tithis*'. The underlying conception of goddess Lakshmī is that of good fortune or luck, which brings prosperity.

8. Chakra

The '*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*' describes a ritual in which the turning of a wheel placed on a post, in a sun-wise direction is said to bring great merit to the performer. The wheel was also a sacred symbol of the Jains and as such, it appears on many of their sculptures.

It is, as we know, the special weapon of Viṣṇu, the god-supreme of the Hindus. As the Yaudheyas were primarily of a Hindu creed they did not miss the opportunity of giving a dignified position to this weapon on their coinage.

9. Scythic-like object (Yūpa)

This figure can be recognised to be similar to the '*Aśvamedha-type*' of coins of *Samudragupta* and *Kumāragupta*-I. In this type of coinage, pennons are also attached to it and in front the horse stands. The discovery of the inscriptions of some early *Maukhari* rulers by Altekar testifies that this coin-device is identical object. The same curvature is at the top in both. There are references in literature and epigraphic records with regard to the erection of 'Yūpas' by important personalities to commemorate the celebrations of different sacrifices.

A laconic representation of the '*Sulagava*' sacrifice can also be suggested. This has been described elaborately in '*Aśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*' (IV.8) :

> "वैद्यं चरित्रवन्तं व्रह्माणमुपवेश्य, सपलाशामार्द्रं शाखाम्
> यूपं निखाय व्रतन्यौ कुशरज्जु वा रशने अन्यतरया यूपं,
> परिवीयान्यतरयार्द्धं शिरसि पशुं बद्धा यूपे रशमाया वा
> नियुन किन यस्मै नमस्तस्मै न्वा जुष्टं नियुनज्मीति ॥"

"Having caused a Brahmaṇa who is versed in learning and knows the practice (of this sacrifice) to sit down having driven a fresh branch with leaves into the ground as a sacrificial post, (having taken) two creeping plants or two kuśa ropes as two girdles, and having wound the one round the sacrificial post, and tied the other round in the middle of the animal's head, he binds it to the sacrificial post or to the gridle (which he had tied to that post) with the formula. Agreeable to him, to whom adoration (is brought), I bind thee."

—(In sūtra 14 or 15 according to the translator in SBE. series).

10. Stūpa

This symbol is considered to be the figure of a Buddhist Stūpa but available evidences prove that it represents a mountain. Some punch-marked coins contain the figures of tree and crescent along with it. At a place named *Nal*, H. Hargreaves came across certain potteries bearing this figure while excavating some pre-historic mounds.

At *Knossos*, a seal was discovered bearing the figure of a standing female deity on a mountain-peak. This hill and the peak are represented by rows of semi-circular curves of this very character.[1]

Both the above evidences of this figure have been found within the borders of India. They are from a pre-

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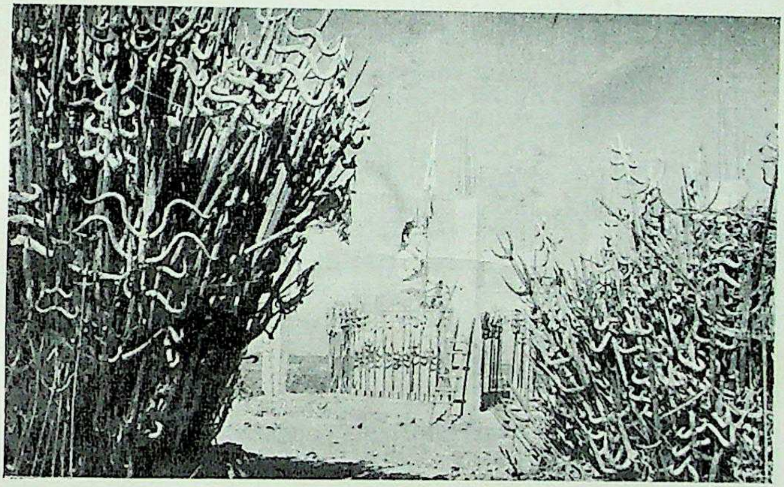
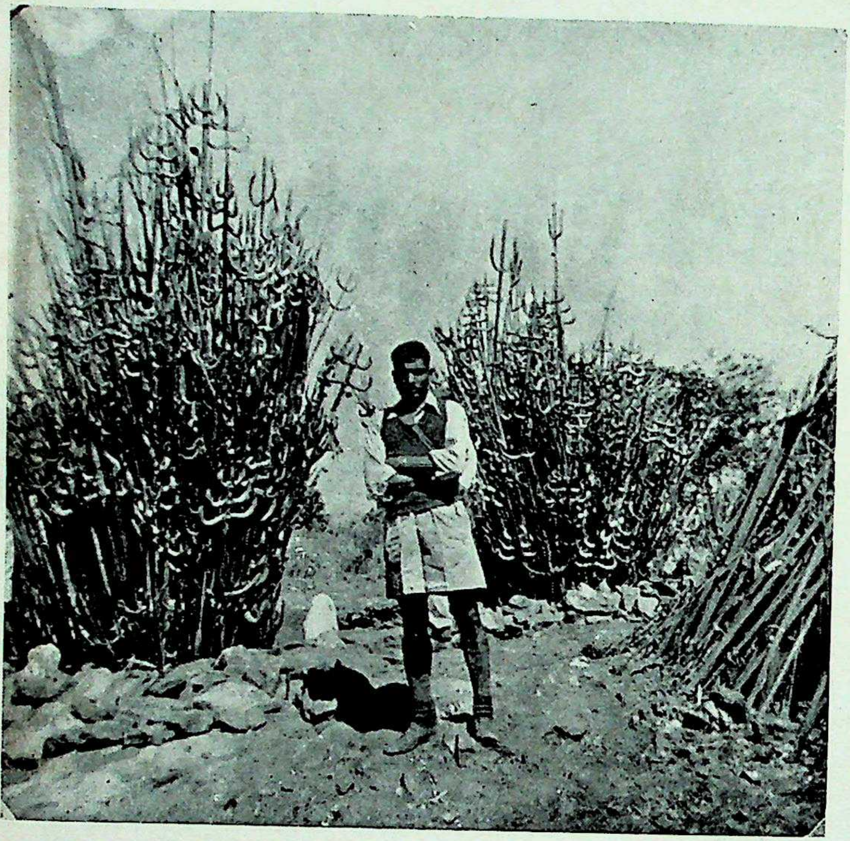
[1] 'Memoirs of the Arch. Survey', No. 40, pl-XVII, 42; Glotz, 'The Aegean Civilization', p-245, fig-40.

Plate--III, Innumerable tridents (Tri-śūla) of various, size and weight planted by devotees of Lord Śiva at CHAURAGARH in the suburbs of Pachmarhi the summer capital of Madhya Pradesh.



Plate—IV, A huge marble statue of Lord Śiva in human form weighing 75 maunds has been installed in, the centre of these trident-grooves by the 'ŚIVA-BHAKTA-MANDAL' of Nagpur in 1967. It took almost two months time to carry this massive statue to the peak from the foot of the hillock.



Plate—V, Innumerable Tridents of various size and weight put at the peak of Chauragarh (Pachmarhi) M.P.

historic period. Almost the same figure represents a mountain in countries outside India.

11. Triśūla

The Triśūla, undoubtedly, remained in use for various religious purposes by almost all the sects of Indians in ancient times. It had multifarious uses of dedication by religious associations and men at all times. Even today, it is considered to be a very important equipment of Lord Śiva.

Pachmarhi (Madhya Pradesh) is supposed to be the place where Lord Śiva had to hide himself on being chased by Bhaṣmāśūra. At *Chauragarh-Peak* (8 miles south-east) of Pachmarhi, we come across thousands of *Triśūlas* weighing right from a few grams to serveral quintals. These are put there by the population not only local rather from all over Madhya Pradesh and other adjoining states. Names of some foreigners are inscribed on them which bears testimony of their having accepted the importance of Lord *Śiva*. They also must have offered this Triśūla after some desire or ambition of theirs might have been fulfilled by Lord Śiva's blessings, as it is a tradition with the *Gonds* and other aboriginals of the locality.

Śaivite leanings of the tribe are revealed from the figures of Nandipada also. Śiva was the father of their war-lord Kārttikeya. It is thus apparent that this physical phenomenon of the representation of Triśūla was just to exhibit their further reverence to Lord Śiva. (Plate III, IV & V).

12. Nandipada

This figure has been accepted by the numismatists to be the foot-prints of *Nandī*, the *Vāhana* of Lord Śiva. Hindus who worshipped Lord Śiva either in his tiger-skin attire or in the form of *Liṁga* (Phallus) believed also in the fact that Nandī was his Vāhana as we find the figure of Nandī in sitting or standing positions in almost all the Śiva temples and therefore the foot-prints of Nandin also must have been given religious importance.

13. Shell

Conch-Shell is a sacred object of worship. We are familiar with its importance in the pūjās and in the performance of other religious rites by the Hindus. It is supposed to adorn one of the hands of *Viṣṇu*. We know about the conch-shells of Lord Kṛṣṇa and of the Pāṇḍavas with their particular names and specialities. It is just possible that the Yaudheyas might have depicted their traditional esteem by giving it a place on their coins.

14. Svastika

Svastika is a sacred sign of great antiquity. From the days of yore it has been respected. In Indian villages it is customary on the part of womenfolk to decorate the houses with this symbol whenever there is some religious performance being done in the courtyard of their houses. It is this sign with a little bit of change in its extreme opening which was adopted by the Nazi Germans as a sacred sign for their victory during World War II. The Yaudheyas gave importance to this figure since a lot of reverence was given to it from long before they came to power.

15. Vase

This vase is symbolic af sufficiency besides being an auspicious sign—'*Maṅgal Kalaśa*'. Hardly any *Pūjā* or sacred performance is seen being performed in the Hindu community without a Kalaśa having been placed at a prominent place filled with water. Orthodox Hindus even today prefer to commence their *Yātrā* after seeing a *Kalaśa* full of water. We know of the references in the *Rāmāyaṇa* about the exhibition of these Kalaśas by the inhabitants of *Ayodhyā* to welcome Śrī Rāmachandra after completing the term of banishment.

'कंचन कलस विचित्र संवारे । सबहिं धरे सजि निज निज द्वारे ।।'
(उत्तरकांड 8.1)

16. Tribal Sign

Numismatists call it '*Ujjayinī Symbol*' because it is generally found on the coins of Ujjain areas. It appears that it must have remained a universally acclaimed tribal-symbol of all the Yaudheya rulers.

17. Two 'S' within a line in-between

The two curved lines facing each other in the inward bend at the top and outward bend at the bottom are supposed to be the representation of two hooded snakes but there is no explanation offered for the straight line in the middle.

18. Triangular-headed symbol

This symbol is identified in the '*handled cross*'.[1] But it seems to be a '*Yūpa*'—the sacrificial post. The projecting lines on the two sides were meant for fastening the animals to be offered in sacrifice.

19. Zig-zag line (Snake or River)

This figure can be presumed to be the representative symbol of a river. It can safely be concluded that it might have been used to depict the area or the province to which the particular coin belonged.[2] If it is considered to be the figure of a snake, the other inference drawn earlier is refuted wherein we have taken such 3 parallel horizontally lying lines to mean the bank of a flowing river and the dots on them to represent sandy or grassy banks.

Besides the above it will be wrong to take the lying curved lines to be signifying snakes as snakes have always been shown in a vertical pose on the coins of this tribe.

The other figures drawn on the horizontal lines could not be embossed on them had they (the lines) been snakes as the snakes have been universally given great reverence even outside India. It has been considered by Chakrabortty to serve merely ornamental purposes also.[3]

20. Circles with dots around

The Sun has always been worshipped in great esteem. This circle in the dots can be considered to be a Solar-representation.

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[1] 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics', Vol-IV, p-326 (Cross).

[2] JPRAS, Vol-II (1936), p-55.

[3] JPRAS, Vol-II (1936), p-56.

21. Curved object within railing

It is the representation of a Yūpa—the sacrificial post which they used to erect for offering animals to different gods in sacrifice to please them, to get their blessings and sometimes to celebrate great achievements.

22. Hill so-called Chaitya

This figure is identical with 'Stūpa' which has been discussed under serial No. 10.

23. Six-headed Shaṣthī or Kṛittikā

The goddess Shaṣthī was the wife of Lord Kārttikeya. The importance of Shaṣthī and her worship (besides her relation with tutelary deity of the Yaudheyas—Kārttikeya) has already been discussed previously.

24. Siva

The Śaivite leanings of the tribe are revealed from the figures of Trident and Nandipada. Kārttikeya (about whose importance for the tribe, we have already discussed sufficiently) was the son of Lord Śiva. The Yaudheyas were primarily warriors. We know from epics that Maheśa is the god of *Saṁhāra*. It has remained customary on the part of Hindu Armies to shout in loud voices—'*Har Har Mahādeva*' while undertaking a charge on the enemy.

Among the three supreme gods—*Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśa*, Maheśa enjoys a special position as we know from the sacred books of the Hindus that even Brahmā and Viṣṇu used to bow down before lord Śiva. It must have been these ideas because of which the Yaudheyas gave place to Lord Śiva on their coinage.

4. (d) PALAEOGRAPHY OF COIN-LEGENDS

An exhaustive description of the coins of the Yaudheyas can be had from the catalogue of the coins in the British Museum by J. Allan published in 1936.

It appears from the examination of the whole coinage issued by the Yaudheyas that the coins at first did not contain legends. They had on them only figures. When legends were introduced, the die-engraver had two alternatives—either to put the inscription by the side of the type or to shift it to the reverse to stand by itself. This latter alternative was resorted to at a later date.

So far as the alphabet is concerned, *Brāhmī* was in general use throughout the country. Almost all the tribes which issued coins used this Brāhmī script. Some tribes like the *Rājanyas*, of course, used Brāhmī accompanied by *Kharoṣthī* for their coin-legend. However, Brāhmī asserted itself by the 2nd century A.D. Kharoṣthī was completely in disuse by the 3rd century A.D. but the recent discovery at Taxilā testifies the use of Kharoṣthī till the middle of the 5th century A.D.[1] It appears that Brāhmī script was used earlier and Kharoṣthī later. The former must have been in use when the tribes had not come across the foreign invaders and Kharoṣthī after the influence of the invading foreigners.[2]

The language in the beginning was Prākṛt. It was the popular dialect of the time. After the use of popular dialect, the classical dialect came into use. Its chief characteristic was the avoidance of harsh consonantal combinations, but by the end of the 2nd century A.D., the legends were in Saṅskrit.

Eastern Afghanistan and north of Punjab was the Indian home of Kharoṣthī.[3] Side by side with Brāhmī it appears as far as Bahawalpur in south-west; Mathurā in the south and Kangra in the south-east. It is considered to have been derived from Aramaic script which got introduction in this country in the 6th. century B.C. when Punjab was under Persian rule.

Aśokan inscriptions of the north-western region were in Kharoṣthī. It was almost during this time when some modifications were made in the alphabet and some additional

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1. JPRAS, Vol-II (1936), p-53.
2. IHQ, Vol-XXVII, No. 1, p-202.
3. Rapson, E.J., CICAD, p-clv.

sounds were introduced for the representation of the sounds of Indian languages, though they could not prove to be satisfactory.

A great disqualification with the coins of the Yaudheyas is that their legends do not contain the names of any king, chief or president. In order of their succession and their appearance the legends of the coins of the tribe can be given the following order :—

1. 'Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhānakanaṁ'
   (of the Yaudheyas of the Bahudhānak country).
2. 'Bhāgavataḥ Svāmino Brahmaṇya devasya Kumārasya'
   (of venerable Lord Kumāra Brahmaṇya deva).
3. 'Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jayaḥ'
   (victory to the Yaudheya republic).

However, there are differences in the deciphering of the legends by different numismatists. So far as the first legend is concerned it has been read :—

1. 'Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhānakam' by K.P. Jayaswal;
2. 'Yaudheyānāṁ Kṛpudhanava' by Rodgers;
3. 'Yaudheyānāṁ Bhūpadhanusha' by V.A. Smith;
4. 'Yaudheyānāṁ Bhūmidhanusha' by A. Cunningham; and
5. 'Yaudheyānāṁ Bahūdhānake' by E.J. Rapson.

Some of the coins, however, have an additional short legend '*Dvi*' and '*Tri*' also. They have been embossed at the end of the above legend. But, such coins are very rare. They are the abbreviated form of '*dvitiya*' and '*tritiya*' respectively. The former means '*second*' and the latter means '*third*' in the English language.

5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE TRIBE AS GLEANED FROM THEIR COINAGE

Many of the Yaudheya coins bear the figure of the holy Trident of *Lord Śiva* and the figure of *Six-headed Kārttikeya.* One Yaudheya coin has been found containing the figure of Lord Śiva holding the trident on the obverse, and mountain surmounting the *Nandipada* on the reverse.

Inference can be drawn from the above that the tribe was devotee of Lord Kārttikeya and Lord Śiva. This tradition also reveals that the figures were not put simply because of great reverence for the gods rather it also indicates that they had a tradition of representative-administration in their (Gods') names.

The apparent reason for this phenomenon, wherein they started this tradition, appears to be their debacle at the hands of *Rudradāman.* These coins were actually issued in the names of the Gods, because they were passing through a very hard time and were in great stress and tribulation. Kumāragupta-I had also resorted to the similar inscription of the figure of Kārttikeya (the god of war) to seek his graces when he was passing through emergency caused by the ruthless invasions of the *Hūṇas.* This implies that he must have known about such precedent and would have also known about such situations where divine help used to be resorted to and would have followed the foot-prints of a mighty tribe like the Yaudheyas to overcome the menace.

The tribal society of the Yaudheyas had great reverence for Shaṣthī (wife of Kārttikeya). The *Rājghāṭa* clay sealings, found in 1941, contain a seal inscribed—'*Shaṣthī-mitra*'.[1] Another instance of a similar nature has been found in another inscription with '*Śaṣthi-datta*' markings. *Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī* (early 7th century A.D.) testifies the popularity of goddess Shaṣthī. He describes the birth ceremony of *Chandripada* very lucidly. During this celebration, the figure of this '*Devī*' in clothes dyed in turmeric along with Kārttikeya (holding a spear in his hand and riding a peacock) was installed.

The religious tradition of the worship of Shaṣthī is evident even today, as it forms an important part of the celebrations following the birth of a child in Hindu families.

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[1] JNSI, Vol-V, p-31.

The earliest coins are embossed with elephant on one side and a humped-bull on the other, accompanied by a Buddhist symbol.[1] This reveals that the tribe had probably abandoned Buddhism gradually and reverted to orthodox Hinduism.

The word 'Bahudhānake' implies a place full of great wealth and abundance of common necessities of life. The prosperity of the Yaudheyas as also their adequacy and self-sufficiency is revealed from the legend of their coins bearing this word.

Coins of class 3 & 4, as discussed previously, belong to the 2nd century A.D. The Yaudheyas were in a poor state of economy during this time, as the coins of this period are inferior in quality and are not of good shape. This was probably because of the effects of the decisive and devastating victory of Rudradāman over the Yaudheyas. Further repercussion of their war with the Kuṣāṇas is also transpired from their coinage of this period.

Coins of class 6 have better finish and shape. They depict greater influence of the Kuṣāṇas coinage. They must have had a happier time and sound economy in this period (3rd and early 4th century A.D.). The Kuṣāṇas had introduced gold-coins. This was adopted by the Guptas also at a later date. Gold currency was never adopted by the Yaudheyas. They had comparatively weaker economic condition.

Pāṇini mentions that the Yaudheyas depended mainly upon agriculture but the other means of their livelihood were :—

1. Service (Janapada Vṛtti).
2. Profession of Arms.
3. Labour.
4. Trade and Business.

Among the crafts the following were the important ones :—

1. Weaving and spinning,
2. Dyeing,
3. Leather works,
4. Carpentry,
5. Pottery, and
6. Hunting.

He mentions about the existence of craft corporations or guilds (Pūgas). These organisations must have helped the specialization of different artisans in their trade besides promoting discipline, co-operation and respect for the law.

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2. JRAS (1897), p-838.

The villages of the Yaudheyas were full of cows, buffaloes, horses, elephants, goats and sheep. They were expert cattle-breeders. Even today we find this tradition in the community of the Jats, Gujjars and Ahirs of this locality (Rohtak and Hissar). Milk, ghee, curd and butter were lavishly available to them. This made them healthy and strong.

Agriculture depended upon rains but the people did not depend upon rains only. For the purpose of irrigation they had wells and tanks also. Agriculture was therefore in a developed condition. Most of the population were agriculturists. The lands were fertile. They yielded adequate grains.[1] The agricultural product was so over-abundant that it was difficult to reap the crops from fields and to harvest the reaped crops was more difficult because of the usual bumper crops.[2] It was perhaps this reason that the country was rightly named 'Bahudhānake'.

For the management of administration, they used to pay several taxes also to different democratic institutions. Villages and towns were connected by roads which were adequate and broad and helped easy exchange of commodities.

While they lived in sufficiency, they had a very simple, easy and happy life based primarily on a democratic set-up. They were very prosperous. They lived with love and affection, concord and co-operation and were devoted to their land.

The Yaudheyas did not observe the rules of '*Varṇāśram Dharma*'.[3] Their women were full of feminal charms. The womenfolk could be seen in their fields helping their men in agriculture.

The Jat soldiers (the Yaudheyas) were strong and sturdy. They resisted the imperial tyranny as rebels. The national spirit and craving for freedom at times, gave them shocks during the course of their struggle for liberation but they boldly withstood them.[4]

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1. Yaśa, 1.43
   वपक्षे त्र संज्ञातसस्य संपत्ति बन्धुरा: ।
   चिन्तामणि समारम्भा: सन्तियत्र बसुन्धरा: ॥
2. Ibid., 1.44
   लवने यत्र नोप्तस्य लूनस्य न विगाह्ने ।
   विगाढ़यस्य च धान्यस्य नालं संग्रहणे प्रजा: ॥
3. Ibid., 1.45
   दानेन वित्तानि धनेन योवनं यशोभिरायूंषि गृहाणिचार्थिभि: ।
   भजन्ति सांकर्यमिमानि देहिनां न यत्र वर्णाश्रम धर्मवृत्तय ॥
4. Ibid.

The Mālavas

3

1. ORIGIN AND GROWTH

The Mālavas played an important role in the history of ancient India. They claimed descent from the illustrious *Ikshvāku* stock of *Śrī Rāmachandra*.[1] The *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*[2] says that the epithet of *Lakshmaṇa's* son *Chandraketu* was *Malla*. It was this Malla who founded *Malla-rāṣṭra*[3] and his descendants were called the Mallas. The world *Madra* became *Malla* in *Prākṛt* as '*dr*' is a changed from of '*ll*'.[4] Malla is the same as the *Malloi* of the Greek and '*Mālava*' of the epic.

According to a reference in the *Mahābhārata*, the sons of *Aśvapati* who was the king of *Madras*, were called *Mālavas* after their mother. This was according to a decree of '*Yama*' granted to the mother of *Sāvitrī*, wife of *Aśvapati* who happened to be a Mālava princess.[5] This reveals that the Madras and the Mālavas represented one and the same people. Their western and nothern sections have been distinctly mentioned in the Bhīṣmaparvam.

The Mālavas have been mentioned with the '*Trigārttas*'[6] and also with the '*Śibis*' and the 'Ambaṣthas'.[7]

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1. Altekar, A.S., 'The State and Government in Ancient India, p-120.
2. VII. 102.9
3. Pandey, R.B., Vikramāditya of Ujjay.nī, p-80.
4. Przyluski, J., J A (1926), pp-1-20.
5. Mbh. V.
6. Mbh. Droṇaparvam, 10.17.
7. Ibid., Sabhāparvam, 32.7.

The *Nandsā Yūpa Pillar Inscription* (Mālava year—226 A.D.) contains the mention of some chiefs of the Mālava vaṁśa. *Śrī (?) Soma*, the leader of the *Sogi*, son of *Jayavarman* and grandson of *Prabhāgra (?) Vardhan* dominated at that time. He was born in the Mālava stock and became as famous as the *Ikshvāku*.[1] This record describes the chiefs as *Rājarṣi*. On account of the achievements of *Soma* the country became prosperous and free. He fought against the western Kshatrapas and became successful in freeing his country from all dangers as we know that the Mālavas did not allow the Kshatrapas to rule over them peacefully. They used to rise in rebellion and furtively attacked the allies of their conqueror.

The phrase in the above inscription indicates that they belonged to the Solar race of the Mālavas. This is approved by the Buddhist literature also.[2] We learn from the Mahābhārata that they were connected with the important Kshatriya dynasties of the time.

The ancient tribe of the Mālavas were very famous warriors. Their main body had joined the *Kauravas* and had fought against the *Pāṇḍavas* in many crucial battles. They rallied round *Duryodhana* and his brothers when at one occasion *Bhīṣma* happended to be in danger.[3] Though *Arjuna* gave them a crushing blow, they had once charged him also with a very mighty force.[4] They, alongwith the *Bāhlikas*, *Dardas*, *Śibis*, *Vṛṣṇis*, *Trigartas*, *Ambaṣthas* and the *Kekayas* etc., had given protection to Bhīṣma. They did not leave him unprotected although they were themselves pierced by innumerable sharp arrows.[5]

At another moment the brave Mālavas exhibited their valour by falling upon Arjuna like moths towards a fire at the call of Duryodhana.[6] Many of them were killed by Yudhiṣthira[7] and Bhīma also killed many of them.[8] They were among the worst sufferers in the attack of Ghaṭotkacha.[9] There are several other

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1. EI, Vol. XXVII, p-252.
2. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta; the Divyāvadāna.
3. Mbh. VI, 47.15-16.
4. Ibid. VI, 55.74.
5. Ibid. VI, 102.7
6. Ibid. VI, 112.109-110.
7. Ibid. VII, 157.28.
8. Ibid. VII, 161.3.
9. Ibid. VIII, 4.6.

accounts contained in the great epic which refer to their great heroism, valour and military skill.

If we consider the life-history of the tribe as a whole, we find that there had been 3 stages of their existence during which they occupied the following territories :—

1. Punjab.
2. The Nāgar-Chal area of Jaipur region.
3. North-western part of the Central India.

During the 1st stage of their history, they were settled in Punjab. They were in close proximity of the Kshudrakas and had amicably formed a union with them at the time of the invasion of Alexander.[1] The Saṅskrit name Kshudrakas and the Mālavas has been transliterated in Greek by different historians in various ways :—

1. Arrian	—Oxydrakai	—Malloi.
2. Curtius	—Sudracae	—Malloi.
3. Diodorus	—Syrakusoi	—Malli.
4. Strabo	—Hydrakai	—Malli.

Pliny, the Roman writer, has given them yet another name. He calls them with the names of *Sydra* and *Malli*.

Pāṇini has not mentioned the Mālavas, by name. He speaks of certain tribes as 'Āyudhajīvin Saṁgha'[2] (the tribes living by the profession of arms). Among these Saṁghas, were the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas. We find them mentioned by name, Mālava, in the *Mahābhāṣya* of *Pātañjali*.[3]

In the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta the Mālavas are included in the list of northern people—(the Arjunāyanas, the Madrakas, the Ābhiras, the Yaudheyas etc.), who are mentioned to have paid homage to the Gupta monarch.[4]

Curtius[5] observes that the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas were often at war with each other but at the time of the invasion of Alexander, they had put their maximum efforts to cement their differences and draw closer to ensure security from the common danger.[6] According to Diodorus,[7] they resorted to intermarriages also by giving or taking in exchange 10,000 of their young women for wives.

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[1] Sharan, M.K., Alexander and the Mālavas, the Māgadhī, Vol-II, p-58.
[2] V.3.117.
[3] IV.1.68.
[4] Fleet, J.F., CII (No. 1), lines 22, 23.
[5] McCrindle, J.W., IIA, p-150.
[6] Ibid., p-234.
[7] Ibid., p-287.

From the above convincing facts, we find that the theory of Thirwall[1] and of Przyluski[2] are refuted. Thirwall has considered the Kshudrakas to be *Śūdras* while Przyluski considers them to be the 'aborigines of short stature' as the word meaning of Kshudraka reveals, and who were definitely shorter in stature than the men of Afghanistan or Iran.

The Mālavas should be connected with the people of Malwa if we take into our consideration the find-spots of their coinage though *Besnagar* and *Ujjain* were their principal cities; coinage have been found there. There are no coins or any other piece of archaeological evidence which could be definitely ascribed to the Mālavas prior to their being incorporated in the Nanda empire. While Rapson refers to some of the surviving coins to the Mālavas, Allan ascribes them to the later Mālavas of eastern Rajputana.[3]

Alexander's historians who have made the earliest definite mention of the Mālavas, refer them as *Malloi*, *Malli* or *Mallai* associated with the *Oxydrakai*, *Sudracae*, *Hydrakai* or *Sydracae*. In the Saṅskrit literature Mālavas and Kshudrakas have been mentioned.[4]

During the Śuṅga time the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas appear again. Some of the victories of the Kshudrakas which they had achieved alone,[5] have been mentioned by Pātañjali. But the Kshudrakas are not traceable in the subsequent centuries. It is probable that they were amalgamated with the Mālavas during their migration from Punjab to eastern Rajputana. About 150-120 B.C. the Mālavas were in their new homes as we find the earliest types of their coins at *Karkoṭanagar* (Jaipur area).[6] It appears that the Mālavas migrated via *Bhatinda* (Patiala area) as the traces of their Malawai dialect extend from *Ferozepur* to *Bhatinda*.[7] They migrated to the Jaipur region of Rajputana from Punjab. This is supported

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1. History of Greece, VII, Ch-54.
2. 'Ancient Peoples of the Punjab', p-36.
3. JBORS, Vol-XXIII (1937), Pt-III, p-311.
4. IA, Vol-I, p-23.
5. V.3.58.
6. Smith. V.A., CCIM, Vol-I, p-161.
7. Linguistic Survey of India, IX, i, p-709.

from the fact that the legends in some of the Mālava coins found in Rajputana have to be read from right to left as in Kharoṣṭhī. Kharoṣṭhī was the prevalent script in Punjab and the north-west from very early times.

Their migration from the fertile lands of Punjab to the dreary desert area of Rajputana testifies their love for liberty. They believed that their country was there, where they lived. They were ready to sacrifice even their paternal homes and lands for the preservance of their political self and soul. They justified the settled principles of Hindu politics that freedom is more important than homes and it is to be preserved at the cost of the latter.

The Mālavas performed the '*Ekashashṭi sacrifice*' at *Nandsā* in Udaipur state to celebrate the liberation of their country. This was done by *Soma* their leader. An inscription of this ruler dated in the year 226 A.D., has been discovered, announcing how freedom and prosperity had returned to the country of the Mālavas. Though the enemies of the Mālavas are not mentioned, it is certain that they must have been the western Kshatrapas because the western Rajputana is known to have been ruled by them even since Rudradāman-I. Neither the western Kshatrapas nor the Kuṣāṇas were able to impose their hegemony over the Mālavas henceforward.

The Mālavas got a golden opportunity to re-assert their independence when there was a prolonged war of succession in the Śaka kingdom between Jayadāman and his uncle Rudrasiṁha-I which resulted in the weakening of the Kshatrapa power. They continued to rule till the time of Samudragupta who reduced them to vassalage. This is further confirmed from the fact that their coins are not found after 350 A.D. when they ceased to be independent and submitted to him. They came into conflict with *Nahapāṇa* son-in-law of *Usavadatta* who subdued them with the help of his allies—the *Uttambhadras.*[1] The Śaka ruler kept the Mālavas subdued till the end of the 2nd century A.D.[2]

More than once the brave tribe of the Mālavas offered determined opposition from their fortified cities which fell one by one to the sword of Alexander and his generals. Mālavas deserted their cities and preferred to make the desert and jungles their homes rather than submitting to the conquering hordes. They had formed an alliance with the Kshudrakas who were their southern neighbours, to meet the invasion but Alexander struck against them before the armies of the Kshudrakas could effect a junction.

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[1] Mookerji, R.K., 'The Gupta Empire' (1959), p-24

[2] Majumdar and Altekar, 'The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age,' p-34.

One of the greatest reasons of their political strength was that the republic was a nation-in-arms. All the members of the tribe were soldiers. They were a citizen army and were therefore, naturally, superior to mercenary soldiers. Pāṇini has referred to the Mālavas as living by the profession of arms. Arrian has included them among the self-governing Indians and has remarked that they were most numerous and the most warlike of the Indians. Whenever there was a problem of either defence or offence, they formed leagues with other neighbouring powers. These leagues used to be regarded as 'invincible'. We know of this tradition with many ancient Hindu tribal republics who had formed the following leagues :—

1. The league of the 6 Trigartas (of the grammarians);
2. The league of the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas;
3. The league of the Videhas and the Lichchhavīs; and
4. The league of the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis.

Chandragupta and Poros formed a coalition of leading states and peoples of Punjab for invasion on Magadha after the liquidation of the Greek influence in the north-west. The Śakas, Yavanas, Kirāṭas, Kaṁbhojas, Pāraśikas, Bāhlikas, Kulūṭas, Kāśmiras, Ksatras (Xathrois) and the Malayas (Mallois) and also the kings of the Sindhu regions and the Persian commander, had joined them. The Malaya leader proved greatly instrumental in the success of this campaign which swept the Magadhan empire of the Nandas.

A feudatory of Vikramāditya-IV named *Daṇḍanyake Anantpāla* is said to have subdued the *Sapta-Mālava countries* up to the Himalayas. It appears that there were as many as 7 small countries called with the same name. It is probable that these 7 would have been the following[1] :—

1. Mo-la-po (Mālavaka-Āhara of Vallabhī grants).
2. Avantī (ruled by a Brāhmiṇ family at the time of Hiuen-Tsang).

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[1] Ray Chaudhuri, H.C., PHAI, IV Ed, p-492 fn.

3. Pūrva-Mālava (around Bhilsā).
4. The district around Prayāga.
5. Fatehpur district (Uttar Pradesh).
6. The Cis-Sutlej districts of Punjab.
7. Some other Himalayan territory.

Some historians have considered the Mālavas to be of foreign origin. This is practically because of the lack of discrimination at an earlier stage between the Āryan and non-Āryan elements that fused and evolved the Mālava stock in the Maru (Desert) and fertile fields of Rajputana,[1] and also because some scholars have read on their coins very queer names appearing to be un-Indian. But this reading itself is doubtful because the letters of the coins are blurred and they cannot be read with certainty. Smith, on this very basis, considers the Mālavas to be of foreign origin,[2] while Allan considers the peculiar names on the coins to stand for the original inscription 'Mālavānāṁ Jayaḥ' and Jayaswal considers them to be an amalgam of the initial letters of the name of the tribe, the name of the clan and the name of the leader. The view of Jayaswal only appears to be correct and thus the origin of this tribe from foreign stock, on the basis of the interpretation of the unintelligible legends on the coins, can be rejected.

There is yet another possibility of their (these coins bearing the peculiar names) having travelled to the places of their provenance from outside. We have discussed previously about the scope and limitations of numismatics as a source of history wherein we have seen that only numismatic evidences cannot be considered to reveal correct historical data, however correct our interpretations and readings may be.

The name of the Mālavas survives even today in the close community of the Brāhmiṇs called *Mālavīs* which has since been Saṅskritised as *Mālavīya*. They are fair-complexioned and handsome people noted for their sharpness of business intelligence. They are, however, not known to establish matrimonial relations outside their own community. A far removed colony of the Mālavīyas existed in the vicinity of Allahabad. They are now found in towns near about Allahabad. They are found also in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh.

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[1] Smith, V.A., Op. Cit., p-163 ff.

[2] Ibid., pp-174-76.

The most noteworthy example of this caste is Paṇḍit Madan Mohan Mālavīya.[1]

The Sikhs of the districts of Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotala are still known as Mālava-Sikhs.[2] It is probably because their regions were occupied by the Mālavas, in ancient times.

1. (a) ALEXANDER AND THE MĀLAVAS

Among the states which offered resistance to Alexander the Great, the *Mālavas* and the *Kshudrakas* were important. The Mālava people mustered an army of about 1,00,000 strong and offered bitter opposition when Alexander retired from *Beas* and was sailing down the *Jhelum* on his way home. They accorded him a warlike reception. They conveyed their wives and children to their strongest cities for safety and with a firm determination to give Alexander a mighty blow, they girded their loins.

Alexander's soldiers who were, up to this time, thinking that they had come to the end of a hazardous task and were now returning back to their homeland, were struck with an unexpected terror when they learnt that some more dangerous task was ahead and they were to meet some fresh opposition from a greater and more formidable force. "They began to upbraid the king in the language of sedition".[3] He was charged by them for not ending war rather simply shifting the operational theatre.

There was every likelihood of the repetition of the story of the Hyphasis. Alexander made a moving appeal to them—"to permit him to return from India with honour, and not to escape from it like a fugitive."[4] And this time he had the desired effect. The troops were galvanised into fresh activity and they rose to a high pitch of war-frenzy.

Having learnt about the preparations and the alliance of the Mālavas with the Kshudrakas, Alexander decided to advance rapidly to foil their preparations. He crossed the Jhelum and Chenab confluence and advanced through the territories of some small states. He did not give time to these states to join the

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[1] Wilson, 'Indian Castes' Vol-II, pp-114 & 189.

[2] Buddha Prakash, PSMAP (1964), p-111.

[3] Curtius, 'Quoted by Tripathi, R.S. in History of Ancient India', p-136.

[4] Arrian, VI, 4 (McCrindle, J.W., 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great', p-137).

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Mālavas. Hephaistion, Krateros and Philippose joined him with their force at this juncture. Alexander very skilfully divided his army and allotted them different roles and courses for this campaign.

1. Philippose along with his troops was sent on the other side of the Jhelum.
2. Nearchos was despatched with the fleet 3 days before the departure of the army.[1]
3. The rest of the army was divided into 3 parts :—
   (a) One part was commanded by Hephaistion who was directed to set out 5 days in advance.
   (b) Ptolemy was instructed to follow 3 days later with another part of the army.
   (c) Alexander himself moved with the 3rd party of his soldiers.

All these divisions were ordered to meet at the confluence of the Chenab and the Rāvī. He had planned the campaign in such a way that the task of Hephaistion was to beseige the banks of the Rāvī and Ptolemy was to beseige the areas of the Chenab locality.

Alexander himself reached the bank of the river *Ayek* somewhere between Jhang and Shorkot. After rest and filling up all available vessels with water, he marched towards the desert area and covered a distance of about 46 miles (400 stadia, 1 stadium=606 feet 9 inches) and reached *Kot Kamalia,* situated on the northern bank of *Rāvī.*

The Mālavas did not think of this course of Alexander's plan and were caught unawares. 'Alexander fell upon them unexpectedly and slew most of them without their even turning to offer resistance, since they were unarmed.'[2] Many were slain in the fields where they were working in usual routine manner. Those who retreated to the city were beseiged by his army where about 2,000 of the Mālavas were killed.

The two commanders, Perdikkas and Kleitos, marched towards another city but the inhabitants fled away to save themselves. Alexander himself proceeded further towards Rāvī where he, along with his men, reached in the morning after marching the whole night.

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1. Rapson, E.J., CHI, Vol-I, (II Ed), p-336.
2. McCrindle, J.W., Op. Cit., p-140.; Cf. 'Glimpses of Ancient Punjab', p-41.

On reaching Rāvī, he learnt that most of the Mālavas had crossed the river. He chased those who were still crossing and reached the other side of the river after killing many of them during the course of their crossing. The fugitive Mālavas took shelter in *Talamba* which was a fortified place (25 miles from Kot Kamalia). The task of storming the fortification of Talamba was completed by Peithon. Alexander himself attacked another place named *Atari* (20 miles off Talamba) where many of the Mālavas had taken refuge.

The fort of *Atari* was surrounded on all sides by a mote. Water from the Rāvī used to be let into it whenever there was any fear of attack. The remains of this fortification can be seen even today. Alexander went round this fort in a boat.[1] The Greeks laid seige to it. Mālavas defended the fort with great resistance but there was heavy pressure from the enemy. The men defending the walls at the parapets were killed and injured seriously and the remaining retreated further inside to defend themselves, leaving their posts as they found it hard to maintain their positions. Out of the 1st batch of the Macedonians, who rushed inside, 25 were killed and the rest were driven out by the Mālavas. The army of Alexander then resorted to the help of ladders for scaling the parapets of the fort and succeeded in breaking through it at several points. Alexander himself mounted the wall and started encouraging his soldiers. There was a fierce fighting within the walls and at the parapets as a result of which about 5,000 of the Mālavas were killed but as they were traditional warriors and brave people, only few could be taken as prisoners by the Alexander's army.[2]

After doing away with the Mālavas of the fortress-city, Alexander allowed rest to his soldiers for one day. He then set off towards Multan, the capital of the Mālavas. There the Mālava people had vacated the city and withdrawn towards the desert area and after crossing the Rāvī had joined the Kshudrakas for defence.

The main force of this communion (the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas) consisted of the following fighting strength[3] :—

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[1] Cunningham, A., AGI, pp-228-230; Cf. Buddha Prakash, 'Glimpses cf Ancient Punjab', p-42.

[2] McCrindle, J.W., Op. Cit., pp-143-44.

[3] Buddha Prakash, Op. Cit., p-42.

1. Foot soldiers—90,000
2. Cavalry—10,000
3. War-chariots—900

Diodorus[1] differs from the above numerical strength. According to him the figure was :—

1. Foot soldiers—80,000
2. Cavalry —10,000
3. War-chariots—700

Mostly because of discontentment and fear as also their craving for home, the soldiers of Alexander had compelled him (by almost revolting attitude), not to proceed further towards the Magadhan empire in the east. Now as they were happily returning home but when they found that it was not stoppage of war rather a mere shifting of the theatre of operation from the east to the west, a further discontentment spread in the army of Alexander like an epidemic.

In the meantime, there sprang up differences between the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas on the point of the over-all command of the operation by the combined armies of both the tribes. Somehow in the evening one Kshudraka general was chosen to command the confederate army who ordered fires to be kindled over a wide area so that the army may appear to be extraordinarily superior in numerical strength.[2] But all these efforts proved abortive when the morning came because of further differences on the point of the conduct of the operation, the unity of the two tribes vanished. All fled away from the area because they lacked proper leadership and also because they had known about the massacres done by Alexander before their coming face to face with his army. But during the cours e o their withdrawal due to greater pressure from the enemy besides their tribal differences (on the point of leadership mentioned above), they did give fierce battle.

The news of this difference between the two armies of the tribal republics, and about the isolation of the Mālavas, however, moralised the Macedonians. The Kshudrakas were now totally aloof and the whole pressure from the enemy now fell upon the Mālavas who now resorted to retiring to their capital.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p-43.

The next day Alexander took over the over-all command of the operation of storming the fortified city himself. He entrusted the work of assaulting one vulnerable point of the fortification to his able commander, Perdikkas, while he himself charged at another place. Though the army led by Alexander succeeded in bursting upon a small gate, it was really very difficult to scale the walls, and the soldiers carrying ladders remained moving from one place to the other. By now, most of the Mālavas defending the walls had withdrawn to the citadel. Alexander finished this state of vacillation by ascending a ladder and reaching the parapet himself. Penkestas, his shield-bearer and Leonnatos, his body-guard went up along with him. Another soldier Abreas climbed another ladder. Having been encouraged by the sight of Alexander himself, the other soldiers also climbed up in an undue haste, causing the breakage of the ladder. Alexander was now a target of all the Mālavas in the fort who could see him from the citadel, towers and the walls.

Alexander then leaped inside the citadel where he came across many assailants including the chief of the Mālava force and Governor of the citadel whom he killed. Besides his sword, Alexander used even stones lying in the proximity to kill and disable his opponents.[1] Now Alexander was encircled by many soldiers of the Mālavas. By then Abreas, Penkestas and Leonnatos had joined him for assistance. He was a prominent target for the shower of all sorts of heavy missiles which broke his helmet.

There came one club which fell on his neck and he crouched down in defence and in pain. His other soldiers defending him had been badly wounded by now. Next came one barbed arrow from the Mālavas which hit him in his chest above the pap. Blood gushed out. He fell in a swoon. The collapse of their great leader caused a deafening cry from all sides. His soldiers who were even now outside the fortification put their maximum efforts and finally entered the fort from different directions and sources. They now plunged into fighting desperately, killing men, women and even children who came to their sight.[2]

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1. Buddha Prakash, Op. Cit., p-44.
2. Law, B.C., 'Tribes in Ancient India', p-62.

Alexander was carried to his camp in a very precarious condition. He was operated by Kritodemos (Critobulus), his physician who had at first started weeping at the sight of the severe wound. The iron barb was extracted after sawing away the wooden shaft. Alexander fainted. He ramained in bed for 7 days during which period there was great suspense. A rumour about his death also prevailed. He appeared before his men in a vessel in the Rāvī and came back to his camp (near the confluence of Rāvī and Chenab), on horse-back. This place where Alexander received his dangerous wound has been confidently asserted in many books as Multan by several historians but it was not actually Multan rather it was a small town situated some 80 to 90 miles north-east of that city and cannot be identified now.[1]

The Mālavas now considered their further resistance to be useless and sent envoys to offer submission to Alexander. The Kshudrakas also followed suit by sending 150 of their eminent men to sue for peace. They brought rich presents for Alexander.

The territories of the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas were given to Philippos who was made the Satrap. The Ksatrijyas and the Vasātis surrendered without any resistance. The territory of Satrapy of Philippos now extended up to the confluence of the Chenab and Indus.

The ambassadors of the tribe who came to negotiate peace with Alexander brought messages from the tribal leaders that "they were attached more than others to freedom and automomy"[2] and that it was due to the will of the gods rather than fear that they had bowed to his steel.[3]

Alexander appreciated heroes, and so he appreciated their bearing and entertained these leading men with marked courtesy and lavishness which excited the jealousy of some of his own generals.

Quite contrary to the views expressed by the Greek writers who describe the conquest of Alexander as an easy affair, we find that the resistance offered by this small tribe to a conqueror of nearly half of the ancient world is amazing. Their formidability created great terror in the army of Alexander who were at the point of mutinying. They (the Mālavas) could have succeeded in killing Alexander as we know that they had mortally wounded him.

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[1] Smith, V.A., JRAS (1903), p-696.

[2] Arrian, VI, 14.

[3] Curtius, IX, 7.

The Greek writers have magnified Alexander and have tried to convey the impression that the Mālava tribe was practically annihilated by him but this was not the case. Arrian tells us that the leading men from the Mallois and the Oxydrakois had gone to Alexander to conclude a treaty. Had there been a practical annihilation, there must not have been the necessity of such a treaty. Besides this, Alexander never concluded treaties with the people of Messaga, Arnos and with Darius-III etc. Treaties are possible only with partially defeated people.

Of course, the Mālavas could not prove a proper match to the soldiers of the Macedonian conqueror, who were trained and officered by veteran generals of ancient Greece.

1. (b) THE MĀLAVA ERA

We know about the prevalence of the following Eras in ancient India which were current during different periods of history[1] :—

1. Sṛshṭ-yābda —Creation era.
2. Saptarshi —Era of the seven sages.
3. Kali Saṁvata —Era started at the beginning of the Kali-age.
4. Yudhishthira Saṁvata.
5. Ānanda Saṁvata.
6. Buddha Era.
7. Mahāvīra Era.
8. Mauryan Era.
9. Śaka Era.
10. Kanishka Era.
11. Gupta Era.
12. Chedi Era, etc.
13. The Vikrama Era.[2]
14. The Harṣa Era

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[1] Pandey, R.B., Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī p-1.

[2] Ray Chaudhuri, H.C., 'Vikrāmaditya in History & Legend', Vikramāditya Comm. Vol. (Ujjain), 1948, pp-483-511 and Dikshit, S.K., 'The Problem of the Kuṣāṇa and the Origin of the Vikrama Saṁvat', in ABORI.

Of all the above eras, the Vikrama era has proved its vitality. It has survived and is even today currently used in India. Even the Himalayan states are using this Vikrama era. Although the Christian era started being used officially after the advent of the Britishers in this country, the people especially the Hindus have remained using this Vikrama era in their social and religious transactions. It is this era which is universally used in the Horoscopes of the Hindus.

This era is 57 years senior to the Christian era. It was started therefore in the middle of the 1st century B.C. But Vikramāditya is not actually associated with this era from the beginning. This is certified by the prevalence of *Kṛta era* found on the following inscriptions in Malwa, Rajputana and their neighbourhood[1] :—

1. The Nandsā Sacrificial Pillar Inscription—Udaipur
   (dated in Kṛta era—282)[2]
2. The Baḍwā Sacrificial Pillar Inscription—Koṭā
   (dated in Kṛta era—295)[3]
3. The Barṇala Sacrificial Pillar Inscription—Jaipur
   (dated in Kṛta era—294 & 335)[4]
4. The Vijayagadh Inscription—Bharatpur
   (dated in Kṛta era—428)[5]
5. The Mandsor Inscription—Malwa
   (dated in Kṛta era—461)[6]
6. The Gangdhāra Inscription—Rajputana
   (dated in Kṛta era—480)[7]
7. The Nāgarī Inscription
   (dated in Kṛta era—481)[8]

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[1] Pandey, R.B., Op. Cit., p-2.

[2] EI, Vol-XXVI, pp-118.25.
"कृतयोर्द्वयोर्वर्षशतयोर्द्वयशीतयोः चैत्रपूर्णमास्याम्" ।

[3] EI., Vol-XXIII, p-43 ff.
'कृते हि कृतैः (200 + 90 + 5 फाल्गुण शु॰ 5)

[4] कृते हि 300 + 30 + 5 जरा (ज्येष्ठ) शुद्धस्य पंचदशी ।

[5] कृतेषु चतुर्षं, वर्षशतेष्वष्टाविंशेषु 400 + 20 + 8 फाल्गुण-बहुलस्य पंचदश्यामेतस्यां पूर्वायाम् ।

[6] श्रीमालवगणम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते ।

[7] यातेषु चतुर्षु कृतेषु शतेषु ।

[8] कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेषु ।

This Kṛta era remained being called *Kṛta era* till the year 460 only. From 461 to 966 it was popular with the name of *Mālava era*. We find the mention of this new name (of the same original Kṛta era) on the following inscriptions :—

1. The Mandsor Inscription[1]
   (It is of the year 460. It has been called both Kṛta era & Mālava era.)
2. The Mandsor Inscription of Kumāragupta[2]
3. The Mandsor Inscription of Yaśodharman[3]
   (dated 589, era of the Mālava republic)
4. The Kaṁaswā Inscription of Śivāgāma[4]—Koṭā state
   (dated 795 in the era of the Mālava lords)
5. The Gyānspur Inscription[5]—Gwalior
   (dated 936 of the Mālava-Kāla)

K.B. Vyas[6] puts forward the rather novel theory that the word Kṛta in the ancient inscriptions refers to the *Katha* people, while D.N. Mookerjee[7] mentions 9 inscriptions in the Kṛta or Mālava Gaṇa era and contends that Kṛta is the era started by *Kalkin* who is supposed to have ushered in the *Kṛtayuga* in the 5th century B.C. Both these views are not agreeable.

Sengupta[8] holds that the *Kṛta* era started in 63 B.C. His grounds are that certain Mahābhārata and Purāṇic passages set out in a prophetic vein the circumstances when the *Kṛtayuga* will start and he holds that those conditions were satisfied about 63 B.C. and therefore the era was called *Kṛta*. But no one in ancient India could have thought that the start of the Kṛta era was near. He relies on Mahābhārata[9] differently read in the Śarda codex and several Kashmir MSS viz. :—

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[1] Fleet, J.F., 'Gupta Inscriptions, No. 33.
'श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते' ।

[2] Ibid., No. 34.
'मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये' ।

[3] 'मालवगणस्थितिवशात्कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु' ।

[4] IA, Vol-XIX, p-59.

[5] ASIAR, Vol-X, pl-II.

[6] Bombay University Journal, Vol-XVII, pp-19-25

[7] JIH, Vol-XXIV (1945), p-105.

[8] 'Ancient Indian Chronology', pp-238 ff.

[9] Vanaparva, 190.90.91 (Bombay Ed), and 188.87 of the critical ABORI, Ed.

यदा चन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च तथा तिष्यवृहस्पती ।
एकरात्रे समेष्यन्ति प्रपन्स्यति तदा कृतम ।।

and not एकराशौ as he reads. And thus we see that the verse is of no use so far as chronological purposes are concerned.

Vāyupurāṇa[1] also reads *Ekarātre* (only one MS reads Ekarasaṁ). Some Purāṇas[2] read एकराशौ. The three *Matasyapurāṇas* verses quoted by him are not from the same chapter. The first verse simply says that *Viṣṇu* created *Yavas* on 3rd *Tithi* of *Vaiśākh*, bright half and that he started *Kṛta-Yuga* on that tithi. This verse does not help us in drawing any definite date. The other two verses[3] describe a *vrata* and *fast* on the third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha which yield inexhaustible fruits to the performer equal to all good deeds. These two verses do not contain a single word about *Kṛta-Yuga* and the first says nothing about *Kṛttikā*. A strange method to put together verses apart from their context and over that, a particular date has therefore, been, established.

There is yet another school of thought which considers this Kṛta to be the name of a king who founded the era.[4] Some historians believe that Kṛta was the name of some tribal leader (Gaṇa Mukhya).

This Kṛta seems to have been introduced in Sindh and adjoining areas by the Śaka feudatories of *Vonones*, and the Mālavas. They originally lived in Punjab within the domination of the Śakas. They carried it to Rajasthan and the neighbouring areas when they migrated to those localities.

Outside the western and the north-western parts of India, the earliest use of this Kṛta-Mālava era is traced in the *Harahā* (Barabanki district of Uttar Pradesh) inscription of Mukhari Iśāṇavarman. This is dated in the year 611. The *Baḍwā* inscription of the 3rd century A.D. found in the *Kotah* region of Rajasthan clearly explains the use of the era by the *Mukharis* of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar[5]. These Mukharis appear to have carried the use of this era from the original home in Rajasthan to the new settlements in the east. They were subordinate to the

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1. 99.413.
2. Viṣṇu, IV, 24.102, Brahmāṇḍa, III.74.225.
3. Matasya, 65. 2-3.
4. Pezer, Ocean of China., Vol-III, p-9.
5. Sircar, D.C., IE, p-257.

Mālavas and there is every probability of their having belonged to the Mālava stock only.

That this word Kṛta meant glorious, victorious and happy age, is borne by a verse found in the '*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*' also, which means :—

> 'The sleeping is *Kali*, the yawning is *Dvāpara*, the standing is *Tretā*, and the marching onward is *Kṛta*.'

The Mālavas had been marching in the defence of their territorial integrity against the enemies and they were now enjoying the fruits of their achievements. These facts justify the above verse.

The era is found associated with the era of *Vikrama* or *Vikramāditya* from the end of the 9th century onwards. We get the following inscriptions dated in this Vikrama era :—

1. The Dhaulapur Inscription of Chaṇḍa Mahāsena[1]
   (dated in the 898 of Vikrama Kāla)
2. The Bijapur inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Vidagdharāja[2]
   (dated in the 973 of Vikrama Kāla)
3. One Bodhgayā inscription[3]
   (dated in the 1005 of the Vikrama Saṁvatsara)
4. The Ahāra inscription of Allaṭa—Udaipur[4]
   (dated in the 1008 of Vikrama Kāla)
5. The Eklingaji inscription of Naravāhana—Udaipur[5]
   (dated in the 1028 of the King Vikrama)
6. The Vasantgadh inscription of Pūrṇapāla—Sirohi[6]
   (dated in the 1099 of the Vikramāditya)

The following inscriptions in verses contain the mention of the Mālava era. The places where these inscriptions have been found in Malwa and its suburbs[7] :—

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[1] EI, Appendix to Vol-XIX-XXIII.

[2] विक्रम काले गते ।

[3] विक्रम संवत्सर 1005 ।

[4] 'दशदिग्विक्रमकाले वैशाखे शुद्धसप्तमीदिवसे ।'

[5] 'विक्रमादित्यभूभृतः अष्टाविंशतिसंयुक्ते शते दशगुणे सति ।'

[6] 'नवनवतिरिहासीद् विक्रमादित्य काले ।'

[7] IA, Vol-XX (1891), p-404.

The Mandsor Inscription
(V. 493-529 & V. 589) —'Mālavānāṁ Gaṇasthityā
&
Mālava-Gaṇa Sthitivaśāt'
(Years according to the reckoning of the Mālavas)

Kaṁswā Inscription
(V. 795) —'*Mālaveśānāṁ Saṁ-vatsara*'
[Years of the Mālava lords or years elapsed of the Mālava (lord or) lords]

Menālgadh Inscription
(V. 1226) —'*Mālaveśa-Gata-Vatsara*'
[Years of the Mālava lords or years elapsed of Mālava(lord or) lords]

Gyānspur Inscription
(V. 936) —'*Mālava Kalach—Chharadāṁ*'
(Years elapsed from the commencement of the Mālava era)

The phrase need not be considered to contain an indication regarding origin of the era. They simply show that from about the 5th to the 9th century, this era was believed by the poets to be especially used by the princes and people of Mālava. Other eras were, of course, known to be current in otherparts of India.

It appears that the era with its different names really originated in the Malwa country. When we consider the facts that Ujjain was the principal seat of Hindu astronomical learning and was also the meridian from which longitude was calculated, we find nothing surprising in it.

It appears from the above findings that the *Kṛta era*, the Mālava era and the *Vikrama era* are co-equal. All the three eras start from 57 B.C. With the above identity it is clear that this era has been current in the past 20 centuries. The probable reasons of the three different names are as follows :—

In a republican state more importance is given to the Gaṇa. An individual leader, however mighty he might be, is not given the supreme importance. Vikramāditya was a leader of the Mālava republic. He was not a monarch. All his achievements were shared by his republic. In view of the above, the era was named after the Mālava-Gaṇa of which he was a leader. It was started to commemorate the victory of the Mālava republic against the Śakas and the same event was celebrated also by the introduction of the victory-type of coins bearing the legend '*Mālavānāṁ Jayaḥ*' *and* '*Mālava Gaṇasya Jayaḥ*'. Their expulsion freed the country from foreign invasions. Vikramāditya inaugurated this new era of peace, prosperity and freedom from fear. The era is known as the *golden-age*.

There came peace and prosperity in the country after the destruction of the invaders. This period lasted for 135 years (from 57 B.C. to 78 A.D.). The invasion of the Śakas started again after a long gap of these prosperous years. The country lacked strong leadership and as a result of it, the Śakas succeeded in capturing the whole of Sindhu, Saurāṣṭra and Avantī. The Mālavas were pushed back after having been defeated.

But the Mālavas did not loose heart and always aspired for regaining Avantī and re-establishing the lost *Kṛta-Yuga* (*Golden Age*). Once again with this idea in their mind they did not move far away from their lost territory and remained lurking in the proximity. They founded a new Mālava territory, in the north-east of Avantī and remained dormant for quite some time. The era founded by them was even then called by the name of Kṛta era. From 57 B.C. (when the era was founded) to 78 A.D. (for a period of 135 years), they enjoyed peace and prosperity.

Several attempts for the restoration of the lost territories proved futile. This was because of disintegration of their power. The dream of their re-establishing *Kṛta-Yuga*, could not be fulfilled. They were shocked and as they had given up all hopes of the re-establishment, they dropped the name, Kṛta altogether from their era.

The years of Vikrama era were designated Kṛta in the Gupta epoch and earlier and the Mālavas were somehow associated with them. The typical verse is found in the Mandsor inscription of *Narvaman*, which runs :—

'*Śrī* (*r*)-*m Mālava-Gaṇām nāte praśaste Kṛtasanjñite*'

The second expression—'Kṛta Sañjñite' which qualifies the phrase expressing the date, shows that 'Kṛta' was the origina name of the Vikrama era. The first expression—Mālava-Gaṇāmnāte signifies that it was traditionally handed down by the Mālava-Gaṇa. It also denotes that the Mālavas had their own peculiar system of computing the Kṛta years. Bhandarkar has also dwelt upon this point.[1]

The Mālava Gaṇa was even then in existence and the era was remembered as a memory of the great event of the defeat of the Śakas by Mālavas (57 B.C.). Now it started being called the Mālava era (the era of the Mālava-gaṇa, the Mālava people and the Mālava lords).

The Mālava-gaṇa was absolutely merged in the glorious personality of Vikramāditya. His memory was even now enshrined in the minds of the people. This era was named after him. Vikramāditya began to be considered and regarded as king and as such the era itself was called the era of king Vikrama or Vikramāditya. We have several other examples where Indians started regarding a Republican Leader as a king. Lord Kṛṣṇa and Lord Buddha's father can be quoted as examples. They were both republican leaders and not kings, but they were regarded as kings perhaps because of reverence and not ignorance.

A.L. Basham[2] also considers that the Mālavas founded this era which was later known as Vikrama era. The era was handed down by the Mālava tribe.

The fact that we have inscriptions in 282 and 295 of the Kṛta year and none in the Mālava era dated so early, justifies that the Kṛta is the earlier name and when the Mālavas adopted the same era, it began to be called—'*Mālava-gaṇāmnata*' *or* '*Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti*' but it is to be noted that if Kṛta and Mālava both refer to what later became the Vikrama era they were both being used concurrently for at least 100 years, because P.V. Kane[3] considers it possible that Kṛta has the same meaning as '*Siddha*' (just as Kṛtānta means Siddhānt) and it indicates that it was established by agreement among certain people.

Vikrama era was specifically mentioned by name only from about 8th or 9th century A.D.

So far as the founder of the Kṛta-Mālava-Vikrama saṁvat is concerned, some scholars suggest the name of *Azes*.[4] But if we consider the fact that *Maues*, the predecessor of Azes-I, in the Indian possessions of the Śakas is known from the Taxilā inscription of *Patika* to have been ruling in the year 78 of the era, this concept becomes untenable.[1] *Vonones*, who is known from his coins, to have assumed the imperial title of 'Great King of Kings', was the earliest local Parthian ruler of east-Iran. He is considered to have flourished sometime after the Parthian emperor Matridates-II (123-88 B.C.) as we know that Matridates-II assumed the title referred to above for the first time. The name of the month of the Taxilā inscription is Graceo-Bactrian which suggests that the era used in that record is of Parthian origin recording the establishment of a new kingdom in east-Iran.[2] It is probable that the 1st year of the reign of Vonones, came to be considered as the beginning of a new reckoning which was initiated with the aim of ousting the Imperial Parthian Era of 248 B.C.

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[1] Bhandarkar Comm. Volume, pp-187-94.
[2] 'The Wonder that was India' (1963), p-98.
[3] History of Dharma Śāstras', Vol-V. Pt-I, p-653.
[4] Rapson, E.J., CHI, Vol-I, p-576.

And finally we may conclude that the use of this era got introduction by the Śaka feudatories of Vonones in Sindh and in Punjab by the Mālavas who lived within the domination of these Śakas and from there it was carried to Rajasthan and other neighbouring areas when they migrated.

A. Banerji Śāstrī[3] observes that the *Kathāsaritasāgara* and Rajput chronicles bear witness to the heroic legends of Mahendrāditya's son King Vikramāditya of Mālava of the Parmāra dynasty, ruling at Ujjayinī in the 1st century B.C. And therefore he remarks that he finds no reason in not accepting him as the founder of the Vikrama-era marking Mālava emancipation from Śaka domination.

The Ujjain school of astronomers who favoured both Śaka and Vikrama era contributed to the expansion of the era to a great extent. Some of the astronomers had their special favour for the era of 58 B.C., the foreign association of which had been forgotten long ago. And with the gradual extension of the *Gurjara-Pratihāra* power over wide regions af northern India, this era of 58 B.C. became more popular. The other fact that contributed towards the cause of its popularity was the development of the Vikramāditya Sāgā.

The Jain work—*Prabhāvaka-Charita* mentions about the start of the Śaka era in 78 A.D. Ujjain was a great seat of astronomical researches. When the Śakas established their power, they drove away the Mālavas. They put their maximum efforts to compel the citizens of Ujjain to discontinue the use of the era founded by the Mālavas and adopt the era started by the Śakas. The astronomers had to adopt the official Śaka era under compulsion at first, but later they became habitual especially because some sanctity was attached to the new Śaka-era when it got associated with *Sātavāhana* which resulted in giving more popularity to it.

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[1] Sircar, D.C., SI, p-120.
[2] Rapson, E.J., Op. Cit., p-570.
[3] IHQ, Vol-XIII, p-211.

The Guptas conquered and ruled over Avantī for about 150 years. They had their own era but the astronomers had become conservative and did not adopt the Gupta era. The power of the Guptas disappeared after 150 years (approximately), and the Mālava era was still current but the astronomers did not adopt it. They remained using the Śaka era till the 19th century A.D.

The *Malayaketus* and the *Gurjara-Pratihāra* remained using this era. The introduction of this era in Bihar is confirmed by the date (Saṁ-898) quoted in Maithilī—'*Vāchaspati Miśra Nyāyasūchi*' as the year of its composition.[1] Besides the above a manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is known to have been copied in *Tirabhūkti* (Tirhut) in Saṁvat 1076.

Before 58 B.C., the Mālavas are found besieging the Uttarbhadras to the west of Ajmer, which was relieved by the forces of *Nahapāṇa*. In 58 B.C. Nahapāṇa was defeated[2] and killed by *Gautamīputra* who re-struck Nahapāṇa's coins. The Gaṇa of the Mālavas counted the beginning of Kṛta from that date.[3] Their Gaṇa adopted the date to measure future time (Kāla Jñanya).[4] This era was made authoritative by their use.[5]

2. FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The *Bhāgavata* treats the Mālavas as a free republic. Their rulers are called *Janādhipas*— national or popular i.e. republican rulers.[6]

The '*Āyudhajīvin*' of Pāṇini are to be taken to denote the republics which considered military art as the vital principle of their constitution. Their contemporaries considered it to be the chief feature. The other class of republics was the law which permitted the elected president to be called 'Rājā' or 'King'.[1]

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[1] Sircar, D.C., IE, p-257-58.

[2] EI, Vol-VIII, p-44, Cf. Jayaswal, K.P., 'Historical Position of Kalki, IA (1917), p-151.

[3] See reference to Kṛta in Gupta Inscription having dates in Mālava years.

[4] Fleet, J.F., 'Gupta Inscriptions', p-154.

[5] EI, Vol-IX, p-320.

[6] JBORS, Vol-XIX (1933), p-49.

Diodorus[2] deposes that the Mālavas were "inferior to none in India either for numbers or for bravery. They dwelt in cities in which the democratic form of government prevailed."

The Madrakas, Mallakas (Malloi), the Lichchhavis, the Kukuras, the Kurus and the Pāñchālas have been mentioned by Kauṭilya as 'Saṁghas', whose members adopted the title of King and made capital out of it—'*Rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*'.[3]

The monarchist movements had reduced these tribes to mercenary states. This was regarded inferior to that of a national militia and it was this reason that Kauṭilya has called their chiefs, disgraced and disenchanted (*Utsāhāhīna*).

The rise of the Mālavas as a republic was mostly because of their national fervour. We know that *Śrī* (?) *Soma* proudly referred to his descent from the *Ikshavākus* probably in contrast to the pedigree of the foreign Śakas.

The organization of the Mālavas under a tribal constitution and their not being governed by monarchs is confirmed by the *Mandsor* inscription of *Yaśodharma* and *Viṣṇudharma* (dated in the year 589—A.D. 533-4) which contains the legend—'*Gaṇasthiti Vasāti*'. This legend has been interpreted by J.F. Fleet to mean 'from the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas'.[4]

According to this, every member of the republic had a direct franchise. There was no elected king consul but there was a second chamber. All members of this chamber were elected. It has been suggested by some historians that the military leaders of the state were also elected. They have quoted the description of Curtius in which he says that the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas had elected an experienced General for commanding their combined armies against Alexander but this must not be considered to be a proof of a democratic administration in the armed forces of the tribe. As that was a joint venture of the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas and one

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1. Arrian, VI, 14. Cf. McCrindle, J.W., Op. Cit., p-154.
2. XVII, cii.
3. AS, XI.1, p-376.
"लिच्छिविकवृजिकमल्लकमद्रककुकुरपांचालादयोराजशब्दोपजीवनः ।"
4. Kielhorn takes the legend to simply mean—'according to the reckoning of'—quoted by Smith in JRAS 1897, p-824.

general can efficiently command a theatre of operation, they might have decided to entrust the charge to one individual. A nation's government being democratic cannot testify the prevalence of democratic disciplinary control of their fighting forces. As democracy has never proved a success in military, they must not have committed such blunder. They were 'Āyudhajīvin' Saṁghas and they must have known the importance of a dictatorial type of administrative control in the fighting forces.

The republic of the Mālavas was administered by elected tribal chiefs like the Yaudheya's republic. Sometimes these chiefs became hereditary. We are aware of the description of Srī (?) Soma who liberated the Mālavas. He has been mentioned as supporting the ancestral yoke of public administration and we know that none of his forefathers had the royal or military title like 'Mahārāja' or 'Mahāsenāpati' or 'Senāpati'. It is clear from this that the tribe maintained the glorious tradition of a republican form of administration. Even their recorded proclamations about their great achievement of freeing their territory from foreign yoke do not contain any mention of any royal title to a single individual leader. Yet there is a mention in the same inscription that the head of the state was called *Netā*.[1] Though the Gaṇa did not become nonentity, the hereditary tendency of leadership among the Mālavas made the position of this Netā very strong. His strength, of course, depended much upon his individuality. personality and initiative. We know of the dignified position of Vikramāditya who was one of their such Netās.

This Netā performed the duties in the capacity of Military Executive and Judicial head. He was leader of the army during operations and he looked into the affairs of the state during peace. He was the representative of the whole tribe competent to decide a treaty or an alliance.

He had under him a council of ministers who used to advise him in the performance of his duties. Vikramāditya was advised by such a council which consisted of 6 members as referred by Amarasiṁha.[2]

These advisers (ministers) were :—

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1. EI, Vol-XXVII.
2. Amarakoṣa, II.8.4.5.

1. Mahāmātra or Pradhāna
2. Mantrī, Dhīsachiva or Amātya
3. Karma-Sachiva
4. Purohita
5. Prāḍvivāka and
6. Akshadarśaka

As a class, the republican system of India proved very successful in securing longivity. The Mālavas had long existed free before 326 B.C. as they told Alexander. Upto C. 300 A.D., the Mālavas existed in Rajputana. They enjoyed free democratic life for about 1000 years.

The so-called ambassadors who had come to conclude peace with Alexander from the Mālava and the Kshudraka republics were the leading men representing their cities and provinces. They were entrusted with full powers to conclude the treaty.[1] It is evident from this event that they had no kings as their constitution did not allow power to vest in one man or a small body of men. The other remarkable fact confirming this inference is that the two tribes had elected their representative to go to the camp of Alexander for the treaty.

The Macedonian writers have described many of the republics. About the Mālava and the Kshudraka republics whom the grammarians have called by the name of 'Āyudhajīvin' or 'Śastropajīvin' saṁghas, they say that they were very famous for their military skill.[2]

Most of the coins of the Mālavas contain the term 'Gaṇa'. The inscriptions also speak of the Mālava Gaṇa. Raibahadur Ojha, Monier-Williams and Fleet have taken the word to mean 'Jāti'. Monier-Williams has translated the word Gaṇa to mean 'Tribe' in his Sanskrit-English dictionary. It was this meaning which was adopted by Fleet in his translation of the phrase—'*Mālava-Gaṇasthiti*' which occurs in the two Mandsor inscriptions.[3] But he was challenged by Thomas in regard to the renderings of the word Gaṇa.[4] And the Raibahadur followed not only a tribe but also a caste. K.P. Jayaswal was the first scholar to point out their mistake. He suggested that the Gaṇa signifies—Republic.[1] Bhandarkar afterwards pointed out that it denoted a tribal oligarchy—a federation of clans and it has now been universally accepted to be the correct interpretation.

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[1] Jayaswal, K.P., HP. p-73.

[2] See Strabo, XV, 34 on Monsikanos, p-50.

[3] Fleet, J.F., Op. Cit., p-72 ff.

[4] JRAS (1924), pp-413 & 1010.

In view of the above discussion it will thus be seen that the Mālavas were a Gaṇa—a tribal oligarchy from C. 150 B.C. to 550 A.D. The Mālavas continued to flourish as an independent republic down to the time of Samudragupta.

Kauṭilya has made no reference of the Mālavas among the autonomous states in his Arthaśāstra. It appears that the Mālavas remained under the Magadha suzerainty from Mahāpadmananda's time to the time of the Mauryas. We cannot definitely date any of the known Mālava-Avantī punch-marked coins, during the period of the eclipse of the Mālavas.

And thus, we have seen that the Mālavas emerged in 250 B.C. as an independent tribal state. Their coinage bear the legend—'*Mālavānāṁ Jayaḥ*'. Though they did not introduce any silver or gold coinage, perhaps due to their bleak resources and poor state of economy, their territory was vast. Their Ujjain became a commercial and cultural centre of western India having influence in the whole of northern India. We know of their subservience to the Śakas in the 1st century B.C., to the western Kshatrapas from the 2nd to the 4th centuries A.D. and to Samudragupta in the 4th century A.D., but this typical native state exerted itself again.

Many of the tribes of western India including the Mālavas became tributaries to the Guptas in the 4th century A.D. when Samudragupta's great conquests annexed and usurped them. As a result of the Hūṇa invasion they again vanished. We know very little about their organizational set-up after this period but it is presumed that they must have been federal. Large number of petty-chieftains appear to have been headed by a single head who used to hold office with their consent.

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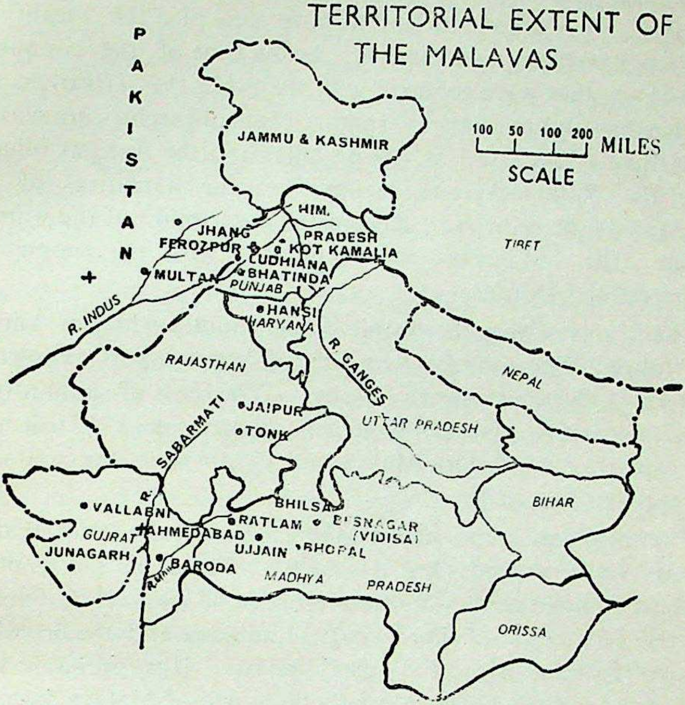
[1] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-162.



TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE MALAVAS

PAKISTAN
JAMMU & KASHMIR
100 50 100 200 MILES
SCALE
HIM. PRADESH
TIBET
JHANG
FEROZPUR
KOT KAMALIA
LUDHIANA
BHATINDA
MULTAN
PUNJAB
R. INDUS
HANSI
HARYANA
R. GANGES
RAJASTHAN
NEPAL
SABARMATI
JAIPUR
TONK
UTTAR PRADESH
BHILSA
BIHAR
VALLABHI
R.
RATLAM
BESNAGAR (VIDISA)
GUJRAT
AHMEDABAD
UJJAIN
BHOPAL
JUNAGARH
BARODA
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA

Mālavas had different spheres of their occupation and influence in north and north-western India at different times. Their two prominent territories which they occupied for quite some time, were known as 'Northern Mālava' and 'Southern Mālava'.

In the northern Mālava they had their political activities at Jhang, Kot Kamalia, Ferozepur, Multan, Bhatinda and Hānsī etc. Among the prominent places of their southern occupation —Vallabhī, Junāgarh, Ahmedabad, Kaira, Baroda, Ratlam, Ujjain, Besnagar (Vidiśā) and Bhilsā can be mentioned.

As their territorial extent is too intricate to be demarcated (mostly for the reasons of the period of their occupation and difference of opinion among scholars), all the places connected with the activity of this tribe, both in the northern and the southern zones have been prominently marked on the map.

3. EXTENT OF TERRITORY

According to the *Mahābhārata*,[1] the Mālavas occupied eastern Punjab. They are mentioned to have occupied the locality of modern *Paneapura* and *Panjor*. At the time of the conquests of *Nakula*, they were grouped with the Śibis, the Trigartas, the Ambaṣthas and the Pançakarpaṭa. Their oligarchies are classed with those of the Bhadras, the Bhiṭakas and the Āgreyas inhabiting the Rohtak-Agroha region, in the narratives of the expeditions of Karṇa.[2] And in the description of the wars of Kṛṣṇa the Mālavas are mentioned with the peoples of Trigartas and Dardas.

The Mālavas were the people of the country which is known as Malwa. The country was divided into two parts, known as eastern Malwa and western Malwa. The seats of administration were at two places. *Besnagar* situated near *Bhilsā* was the capital of the eastern Malwa and *Ujjain* was the capital of the western Malwa.[3]

The original home of the Mālavas was in the lower Punjab below *Rāvī* around *Kot-Kamalia*.[4] There is yet another Mālava situated in the south-eastern side of the *Sutlej*. Portion of the territories of Ferozepur, Ludhiana and the erstwhile state of Patiala formed the other Mālava. It is probable that this area started being called by the name of Mālava because of their occupation for quite some time by the Mālavas, as we know that many of the small independent kingdoms of Punjab and Sindh were disturbed at first by the invasion of Alexander and afterwards they joined the Mauryan empire. When the empire weakened and there came a series of attacks from the Yavanas, these independent states had to leave their original home and migrate for the defence of their independence.

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1. Sabhāparva—32.7. "शिवींष्त्रिगर्तानिण्वष्ठान् मालवान् पञ्चकर्पटान् तथा माध्यमिकाश्चैव वाटधानान द्विजानथां।"
2. Vanaparva—254.20 "भद्रान रोहितकांश्च आग्रेयान मालवानपि, गणान् सर्वान विनिर्जिय नीतिकृत प्रहसन्निव।"
3. JRAS (1897), p-30.
4. Vidyalankar, Jaichandra, 'Bhāratīya Itihās Kī Rūprekhā', II, p-736.

In the *Purāṇas,*[1] the Mālavas have been associated with the Saurāṣṭra and Avantī territories. Their other associate tribes were the Ābhīras, the Suras and the Arbudās who have been described as dwelling along the *Pāriyatra* mountains. From this it transpires that they occupied other territories besides the Punjab or Rajputana. After the reign of Samudragupta who had allowed them partial autonomy, Chandragupta-II subdued them completely and established his second capital at Ujjayinī.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa contains a reference about the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas living together.

We find a frequent reference of the Mālavas in the Bṛhatasaṁhitā. They have been described as northern nation. These northern Mālavas may not be connected with the Mālavas of central India and Rajputana, but Fleet has objected to it and says that the Mālavas cannot be extended beyond the Sambhar lake.[2]

So far as the location of the northern Mālava is concerned, it is presumed that it must have stretched down to the south as far as Chitor. Both the northern and the southern Mālavas may have joined borders and both of them (the whole tract of the country from Haryana to Narmadā) may have been known by one name—Mālava.

Śaktisaṅgama Tantra[3] describes the great country of Mālava as lying to the east of Avantī and to the north of Godāvarī.

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[1] Bhāgavata—XII I.36.
Brahmāṇḍa—XIX 51.17.
Matasya —यमका मल्लवर्णका,
Mārakaṇḍeya—मालदा मालवर्त्तिकाः, मालदा मलवर्त्तिकाः,
Vāyu—मालदा मलवर्त्तिन, मलदा मलवर्त्तिनः, मालवा मलवर्त्तिनः,
मालवा मालवर्त्तिकाः
Viṣṇu—Bk II, ch. III
Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Matasya : मालवाश्च करुषाश्च, cf see the following Publications—Bangabasi Office, Calcutta, Venkateshvara Press—Bombay, Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

[2] For a northern Mālava see—IA, Vol-XIV, p-105.

[3] BK III, Ch. VII, Verse 21
अवन्तीतः पूर्वभागे गोदावर्यास्तथोत्तरे ।
मालवारण्यो मडादेशो धनधान्यपरायणः ॥

The verse evidently indicates the eastern Mālava, the ancient name of which was Akara or Daśārṇa, having its capital at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar).

Vātsyāyana has said that *Ujjain-deśa* was called *Apara-Mālava* (Western Mālava) and wherever Mālava has been mentioned without any prefix, it should be considered to mean the eastern Mālava.[1]

The *Kathāsaritasāgara*[2] shows that the Mālava country came to be regarded as identical with the region Ujjain, i.e. Avantī. The Buddhist chronicle '*Ārya-mañjuśrīkalpa*' records a similar position.[3] Yādavaprakāśa, Hemchandra and Puruṣottamadeva have also identified Mālava with Avantī.[1]

The geographical indications of all the statements definitely establish the association of the Mālavas with the western Mālavas and Avantī, in the medieval period. Rhys Davids[5] considers that the Avantī country came to be called by the name of Mālava from the 7th or the 8th century onwards.

Mo-la-po has been considered phonetically equivalent to Mālava by Smith. Hiuen-Tsang has given some description of this Mo-la-po. He visited this area in the month of September 640 A.D. Though it is erroneous[6] in many instances, he has described that A-ta-li, Ki-ta, A-nan-to-pu-to and Su-la-cha were dependencies of Mo-la-po. Cunningham[7] has identified Ki-ta with ancient Kleta, modern Kaira in Bombay State while Smith considers it to represent modern Kutch. A-nan-to-pu-lo is Ānandapura, the modern Vadanagar in Gujarat state. According to Smith the Mālava country was bounded on the north by Gujarat kingdom of Bhinmal, on the north-west by the subordinate principality or province of Ānandapura, lying to the west of Sābarmatī and on the east by the kingdom of Avantī or eastern Mālava of which Ujjain was the capital.

Dhruvasena was ruling in Vallabhī at the time of the visit of Hiuen-Tsang. He had ascended the throne sometime before

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1. Ray, N., 'The Maukharis of Kannauj', Calcutta Review, Feb. 1928, p-210.
2. Translated by Towny, C.H. (1880), pp-150 & 197.
3. 'Purimujjayanim Khyata Malavanam Jan Tadu'.
4. For their views see IHQ, Vol-XXIV (1948), No. 3. p-176.
5. BI, p-28.
6. JBORS, Vol-XIX (1933), p-407.
7. AGI, p-563.

A.D. 629.[1] The two Nagwā plates[2] (GE. 320-321 – A.D. 639-40 and 640-641) of the reign of Dhruvasena prove that during his time his Vallabhī kingdom extended up to the state of Ratlam in the east (35 miles west of Ujjayinī). Thus it is clear that the areas lying between Vallabhī and Ratlam, the whole of northern and central Gujarat were under him. It will not therefore be proper to locate Mo-la-po anywhere in Gujarat or in Malwa, west of Ratlam. This critical examination of Hiuen-Tsang's description and the Nagwā plates, besides other contemporary evidences, lead us to the conclusion that Mo-la-po represents central Malwa, the capital of which was Ujjayinī. Many grants of Vallabhī contain mentions of places roughly corresponding to the modern districts of Kaira and Ahmedabad, some parts of Baroda and some adjoining territories.[3]

The fact that the Mālavas occupied this region around Ujjayinī and Bhilsā i.e. modern Malwa[4] is mentioned in :—

1. The Guravāvalī Sūtra of Dhammasagaragām.
2. The Tewār stone inscription of the reign of Jayasiṁhadeva of the Chedi year 928.
3. The Sagartal inscription of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.
4. The Paithan plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda-III and a host of others.

After their defeat by Alexander the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas formed a confederation.[5] Their federation lasted for a few decades. We find the mention of both the tribes together, everywhere in the Mahābhārata[6] and after some time, it appears that the Kshudrakas were completely merged in the Mālavas and eventually migrated to Ajmer, Chitor, and Tonk area in C.100 B.C. They may have moved to the modern Malwa area after about 400 years.

It is just possible that the Mālavas of Punjab might have gradually retired southwards from the 2nd century B.C. before the Greek and the Kuṣāṇa invasions and had eventually settled. We find them there in the Christian era.[7] In the light of the data from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas regarding the expansion of the Mālava-Avantī sway from the Gulf of Cambay to the Ganges-Jamuna doab and thence to Benares,[1] the above conjecture is not necessary. As a matter of fact the Mālava and the Avantī should not be distinguished from each other arbitrarily,[2] as the first is a tribal and the second a territorial name of the same group of people. In Buddhist records, we find the area mentioned by the name of Avantī.

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[1] 'Bombay Gaz.', Vol-I, Pt-I, p-91.
[2] EI, Vol-VIII, p-188 ff.
[3] Watters on Yuan Chwang—II, p-242.
[4] EI, Vol-II, pp-18, 19.
[5] Altekar, A.S., 'State and Government in Ancient India', p-121.
[6] Mbh., II, 79, 90; V, 57.18.
[7] Allan, Op. Cit., p-cvii.

It appears that the Mālavas lived on the lower Irāvatī (Rāvī) in Punjab in the 4th century B.C., then they settled in Rajputana. Malwa was the name given to central India by them. Mālavas lived to the west of Karuṣa, the present name of which is *Bṛhadgṛha* (Shahabad district of Bihar).

Weber considers 'Apisali' to speak of the formation of the compound Ksudraka-Mālawah. Smith[3] thinks that they occupied the country below the confluence of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab)—the present Jhang district and a portion of the Montgomery district (Pakistan).

McCrindle[1] considers the Mālavas to have occupied the area comprising of the doab of the rivers Chenab and Rāvī and extending up to the confluence of Indus and Akesines—identical with modern Multan district and portion of Montgomery.

Grierson[5] gives a very peculiar explanation about Mālava. He writes that the surrounding areas of Bhatinda were full of forests. Settlements of lands with tenants is called *Mālī Bandobasta*. The area of the forests when settled during the Sikh rule, used to be called Mālava. The remaining unsettled forests remained forest-land. The territory occupied by the tenants used to be called Mālava. This explanation is unjust and imaginary.

The existence of Mālava-Sikhs in the districts of Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotala shows that they became prominent in the above regions but they were pushed

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1. Mbh., XIII, 30.
2. Rapson has suggested that the so-called 'Ujjain-symbol' of the cross and balls would more accurately be named the 'Mālava-Symbol' and there is no doubt that the proposed term would be the more accurate.... Smith, CCIM, p-145.
3. JRAS (1903), p-631.
4. IIA, p-351.
5. 'Linguistic Survey of India (1903)', p-709.

towards the south because of the pressure of imperialists. At the time of Poros, the Mālavas occupied a part of Chenab-Rāvī doab and extended up to the confluence of the Chenab and Indus rivers.[1]

Varāhamihira[2] has placed the Mālavas in the northern division of India along with the *Madrakas*, the *Trigartas*, the *Kekayas*, the *Vasātis* and other people. Their position agrees with the Mālava country situated to the east of the Sultej which includes *Bhatinda* and *Sunam* as applied to the Mālava-Sikhs. These are probably extended as far as *Hānsī*.

4. COINAGE

The Mālavas issued copper currency proving their independent state. Their coins are found all over the wide area from the Sutlej to the Narmadā and have an equally wide range in time from 250 B.C. to 350 A.D. Their coins are not found after 350 A.D.[3]

In the vast range of ancient Indian coinage, the coins of the Mālavas are among the most curious and enigmatical.[4] The small coins which contained the name '*Mālavānā*' on them are considered to be the first in the series of coinage of the tribe.[5]

The earliest coins are comparatively larger than the later ones. The '*Bhapaṁyana*' coin with a diameter of .4 and the '*Yama*' coin of .42 diametre belong to probably the 2nd century B.C.

The peculiar '*Māhārāyā*' coin, the diameter of which is .3 was supposed to be of the 2nd century A.D. by Carlleyle and the '*Paya*' coin which has a late form of '*Ya*' can be assigned to the 300 A.D.

Coins bearing the legends probably depicting various forms of their tribal names have vase, lion, bull, fan-tail peacock, a human head and some other objects as their reverse design. Their weight varies from 105 grains to 40.3 grains. Their size ranges from $\frac{1}{2}''$ to .2″ in diameter. The smallest one weighs 2.5 grains only and its diameter is .2″.

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1. Buddha Prakash, Op. Cit., p-157.
2. Bṛhatasaṁhitā, Vijayanagaram Sanskrit Series.
3. Mookerji, R.K., 'The Gupta Empire' (1954), p-24.
4. Smith, V.A., Op. Cit., p-161.
5. ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-149.

These coins resemble the coinage of the Yaudheyas and the Arjunāyanas so far as their legend portion is concerned. They were probably minted to commemorate the victory of the Mālavas over the Śakas in the 1st century B.C. but they were continued even afterwards. The other contemporary republics of the Mālavas belonging to Rajputana, Central India and Punjab also followed the Mālavas and introduced the victory types in their coinage.

Coins bearing no legends are small and light. One of such coins is supposed to be the smallest of the known coins of the world.

Besides the above varieties, there are other coins of this tribe which contain on them numerous meaningless legends. The name of the Mālavas cannot be traced on them. D.C. Sircar[1] considers these coins to be imitation coins of the genuine issues. We are aware of such imitation coins of the Mālavas issued by the Guptas[2] and the local chiefs of the Mālava regions. Kuṣāṇa coins, discovered in Punjab,[3] Rajasthan and Orissa are other examples of such imitations. The Gupta coins of Bengal[4] and local south Indian imitations of the Imperial Roman coinage[5] are other examples.

But Sircar does not give any evidence to support his views assuming these curious legends to a period after the cessation of genuine Mālava coinage. The question as to why the counterfeiters of these coins considered it necessary to give these coins an appearance of genuineness remains unsolved.

Without any political authority how these coins came into circulation, why the goldsmiths did not prefer to give these coins an appearance of genuineness in all possible details, and why they resorted to inscribing systematically meaningless legends, are also not contended. This has been objected by K.K. Dasgupta also.[6] He has made a guess[7]—

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[1] JNSI, Vol-XXVII, p-204.

[2] Cf. the copper coins of Chandragupta-II with the vase on the reverse (Allan's catalogue—Gupta, pp-LXXXIII, 60).

[3] Rapson, Op. Cit., pp-13, 35. Allan's Cat. (AI), pp-cxxi-cxxii,

[4] Allan's Cat. (Gupta), pp-cvi-cvii, JASB (1923), NS, No. xxxvii, pp-58 ff,

[5] Cf. Indian Arch. (1957-58), p-9.

[6] JNSI, Vol-XXIX (1967), Pt-II, p-79.

[7] Ibid., Vol-XXVIII (1966), Pt-II, p-204.

> "When the Mālavas were no longer in a position to issue their own coins, local goldsmiths minted the imitation in order to meet the requirements of the people who were used to the Mālava coinage."

But this guess is illogical especially because he does not give any reason to prove this presumed inability of the Mālavas in issuing their own genuine coinage. Besides this he has himself admitted[1]—

> 'It is difficult to explain as to how the circulation of the two types of coins at the same time and in the same area should have been allowed by the Mālava republic over a fairly long period of time.'

We know from the *Nandsā*[2] record that the Mālavas were well off in the 3rd century A.D. They were flourishing as a republican tribe. Their country has been referred as '*Mālava-Gaṇa-Viṣaya*'. They performed Vedic sacrifice like the '*Eka-shashṭirātra*' with a view to achieve prosperity of the country. How could they be in any difficulty and inability to issue coinage of *copper* ? We have, therefore, no legitimate and definite reasons to suppose that the coins under reference were 'imitations' and not 'genuine'.

The specimen in the Indian Museum[3] definitely bears the name of the tribe—'Mālava' along with 'Majupa'—the name of the chief of the tribe which shows that such coins were in all likelihood genuine Mālava issues.

Anyhow, his contention that some of the coins with these meaningless legends could have been struck by some inefficient goldsmiths[4] side by side with the other artisans entrusted with the job of minting the Mālava coins, can be entertained as we know that in ancient and medieval India, minting was done by goldsmiths. Negamas (Guilds) also besides the political authorities.

Some Śaka copper coins have been recently discovered from Ujjain and Vidiśā regions. They have been assigned by K.D. Bajpai[5] to the second century B.C. on palaeographical grounds.

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[1] Ibid., Vol-XXIV (1962), Pts I & II, p-4.

[2] EI, Vol-XXVII, p-258.

[3] Smith, V.A., Op. Cit., p-175 (coin No. 70).

[4] JNSI, Vol-XXIV (1962), Pts-I & II, p-4.

[5] JNSI, Vol-XXVIII, p-47.

Supporting the earlier view of Smith Bajpai[1] finds it possible that these coins might have been issued by foreigners. But there is one very important point which does not allow us to attribute these coins at least to the Śakas. The coins of the early Śaka invaders are bilingual. On one side of their coins we find Greek scripts while on the other appear legends in Kharoṣthī. Contrary to this tradition, on these copper coins under reference, we find legends inscribed in Brāhmī script only.

After a thorough examination of the above observation it appears more realistic to believe that these coins were struck by the tribal chiefs of the Mālava race. We know for certain that during the period under review, foreigners were coming into India in large numbers and were subduing weak tribal states. With the idea of checking such domination by foreigners, the tribes made the post of the head of their republican states hereditary and invested more powers in their tribal chiefs. It is most likely that these hereditary tribal chiefs developed more ambition and in the course of such ambitious attitude they gathered power and started minting coins in their independent principalities with their own names struck on them.

The weights of the different groups of coins are as follows[2]:—

Class 'A'		*Grains*
1. 2nd century B.C.		10.5 to 40.3
2. 2 coins vase reverse	...	2.5 each
3. Tree and vase	...	4 to 9
4. Lion reverse	...	3.4 to 7.5
5. Bull reverse	...	3.5 to 10.5
6. Kings head	...	6.5 to 9.4
7. Fan-tail Peacock	...	6.3 to 12.0
8. Various	...	2.6 to 16
Class 'B' & 'C'	...	1.7 to 15

Sub-multiples of the standard Kārṣāpaṇas are half, one-fourth and one eighth (Manu & Kauṭilya). Cunningham possessed one specimen of Paṇa and its multiples and divisions varying from 1¾ down to 1/16 or from 25 grains down to .9

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[1] Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Saugar University No. 1.

[2] ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-150.

grain.[1] But coins smaller than these were in circulation in the Mālava tribe.

We find it difficult to imagine how the smaller coins remained in circulation for centuries though they did not go away from Nāgar area (because such coins have not been found anywhere else), in view of their smallness of size.

The Mālavas retained copper coinage only, though silver had come into use in the contemporary neighbouring states.[2] This reveals either their conservatism or their poor economy or both. Besides the above, the absence of gold and silver coins also transpires that the currency of the Mālavas was primarily local. Had there been any major trade and business intercourse with the tribes and states outside their own territory, they must have resorted to the use of the two metals. It is quite possible that the need of an international currency was not felt by this tribe.

The Mālava coins were of a very low value. They could be used as media of transaction in the local markets and probably within the tribal limits only. Merchants of distant states and other tribal territories perhaps did not accept them. The above facts are transpired from their absence from the areas outside the limits of the then Mālava territory.

4. (a) A GENERAL CLASSIFICATION

The coins of the Mālavas were unrepresented in the British Museum till 1935 when Mr. T.B. Horwood ICS (Retired) presented the following 6 specimens which have been catalogued by John Allan in his BMCAI (1936) :—

Class-I
(IMC, Class 'A', Gp III)

'Copper'

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Rever e*
1.	8.5	25	𑀫𑀮𑀯(𑀦)𑀚𑀬 (Malavana Jaya)	Vase in dotted circle
2.	4.2	2	𑀮𑀯 𑀚𑀬	similar
3.	5.2		𑀫𑀮𑀯 .... 𑀬	similar

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1. Op. Cit., p-45.
2. Chakrabortty, S.K., Op. Cit., p-41.

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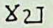
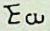
Class-II

(IMC Group-V, Variety-B)

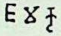
S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	7.7	3	Tree in railing. Inscription as in—1.	Recumbent bull r. in border of dots.

Class-III

1.	6.5			

Class-V

(IMC Class-B, No. 98)

1.	12	25	 (Jamaku)	Illegible

COINS OF THE MĀLAVAS FOUND BY ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM AT ANNUAL FAIR AT POKHAR IN NOVEMBER—1864

(Published in ASIAR, Vol-XIV, Page-150)[1]

S.No.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	Recumbent Bull surrounded by a circle of dots.	Tall tree with legend in two lines—'Jaya Mālavānā'.
2.	King's head left surrounded by a circle of dots.	Tree and legend as on No. 1.
3.	Vase surrounded by a square of dots.	Tree and legend as above.
4.	Humped Bull moving to left.	Legend in 2 lines, as above.
5.	Lion moving to left (on some coins to right).	Tree and legend, as above.
6.	Symbol as on coins of Taxilā.	Legend—'Jaya Mālavānā' with letter 'n'.
7.	Humped bull to right.	'Mālavānā' without 'Jaya'.

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[1] The illustration lacks other details about the weight, shape and size etc. of the individual coins.

COINS OF THE MĀLAVAS : ILLUSTRATED IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM CATALOGUE BY C.J. RODGERS

(Copper)

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	7.1	0.6 × 45 Oblong	Sun and M. 3, below which 'Malavana'.	Wheel, and to r. above 'Ya'.
2.	10.5	0.5 Irregular	Tree in railing, to l. 'Ja' to r. 'Ya'. below 'Mālavānā'	Indistinct.
3.	10.0	0.4	Tree in railings, to r. 'Yama'	Snake, above which M. 4 and ornaments.
4.	28.0	0.66 & 0.6	Tree in railings, on one to l. 'Ja' to r. of tree 'Ya' on the other the same and below 'Lavānā'	On one—a snake. The other is deleted.
5.	6.25	1.3	One inscription in two lines—lower one 'Lavana' upper one 'Jaya' is cut the other coin has 'Lava' only.	In both coins everything rubbed off.
6.	4.0	0.32 Broken	In upper line 'Jaya' in lower line 'Lavānā'	Deleted.
7.	12.5	0.42 2 coins (average)	Inscriptions in two lines. One coin has 'Vana' and the other 'Lava' rest deleted.	—do—
8.	22.25	0.55	Inscriptions much worn in 2 lines. 'Ya' & 'Lavānā'	—do—

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S.No.	Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse
9.	14.0	0.55	As on S.No. 4 above.	—do—
10.	23.5	0.5	Tree in railings, below which 'Chha' 'Malavā'.	Corroded.
11.	15.0	0.4	In incuse circle a tree, round which 'Bhapaghana'.	--do—
12.	11.4	0.45	Tree in railing, below which—'Mālavā'.	Snake below which M. 4
13.	10.83	.035 × .3 Oblong	In incuse area—'Malavana Jaya'.	Humped Bull to l. standing.
14.	10.0	0.35 × .3 Oblong	—do—	—do—
15.	5.0	0.35	'Mālavāna Jaya'.	—do—
16.	13.0	0.35	In incuse area—'Jaya Malavā'.	Indistinct.
17.	8.0	0.3	'(Ja) Ya ma'	Bull to l. very indistinct.
18.	6.0	0.26 2 coins Square	Tree in railings, in middle of coin to l. 'Malava' to r. 'Ma jaya'.	Lion to r. in dotted square.
19.	6.0	0.26 Square	—do—	—do—
20.	3.5	0.32 × .25	Tree with fragmentary inscriptions.	Lion to l.
21.	10.0	0.4 2 coins Average	Tree as on S. No. 18 above, with full inscription—'Mālavāna Jaya'.	Humped Bull couchant to r. in dotted circle.

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
22.	7.2 4 coins Average	0.45	Tree as on S.No. 18 with full inscriptions, 'Mālavā na jaya'.	Humped bull couchant to r. in dotted circle.
23.	7.5 3 coins Average	0.4	—do—	—do—
24.	9.75 2 coins Average	0.4	—do—	Humped bull seated to l.
25.	7.57 5 coins Average	0.4	Tree as on S.No. 18 with full inscriptions.	Bull to r. in 4 coins standing, in 3 sitting.
26.	4.0	0.25	Tree only.	Lion to l. standing.
27.	3.3 1 broken Average	0.25	Tree only, with double stem on broken coin—with one stem only.	Bull to l. standing.
28.	3.0	0.28	Concave inscription round the coin—'Jaya Malavana'.	Humped bull to r.
29.	8.0	0.32	Object in centre uncertain, round it—'Malavana Jaya'.	Deleted.
30.	4.0 2 coins Average	0.3 0.25	As on S.No. 28 with no central object.	Corroded.
31.	3.25 3 coins Average	0.25	As on S.No. 30 above.	A humped bull scarcely recognizable.

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
32.	5.1 5 coins Average	0.3	Inscription in two lines – 'Lava' —'Jaya'.	Signs of some animal.
33.	3.0	0.25	Tree and 'Jaya' (last letter upside down).	A cat to l.
34.	31.5	0.45	'Jaya'	Blank concave.
35.	2.5 5 coins Average	0.15 Sqr.	Fragments of inscriptions.	Dots and signs of animals.
36.	4.0	0.3	Tree & Inscription as on S. No. 18.	Lion to r. scarcely discernible.
37.	2.5	0.25	Tree and railings. 'Mala'	An open flower.
38.	14.0 2 coins Average	0.45	Open flower with fragments of inscriptions, going round it—'Mala'.	King seated.
39.	11.5 2 coins Average	0.42	Open flower, no inscriptions.	—do—
40.	7.2 9 coins Average	0.35 Sqr.	Tree to r. 'Mālavā to l. 'na jaya'	Vase in dotted sqr.
41.	6.3 5 coins Average	0.35 Sqr.	—do—	—do—
42.	5.5	0.27 Sqr.	Similar to S. No. 40 but inscriptions cut.	—do—

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
43.	4.8 3 coins Average	0.27 Round	—do—	—do—
44.	2.5	0.2 Round	Inscriptions going round the coin is scarcely visible.	Vase.
45.	2.5	0.25	Inscription in two lines but no tree as on S.No. 15.	—do—
46.	1.7	0.2 Sqr.	Tree, no inscription	—do—
47.	5.4	0.25 Sqr.	Tree with fragments of inscriptions on each side.	Lion to l., in a dotted square.
48.	15.0	0·5	Tree in railing.	Snake, rest deleted
49.	4.9 3 coins Average	0.25 Sqr.	Tree as on S. No. 47.	Lion to r. in a dotted sqr.
50.	4.5	0.3 Sqr.	—do—	—do—
51.	4.25 4 coins Average	0.35 Sqr.	—do—	—do—
52.	7.375	0.35, 0.3 l oblong	In incuse 'Mapaya'. One with the ancient form of 'Ya'.	An animal not clear.
53.	12.5	·35	'Paya', with the modern form of 'Ya'	Bull to l.

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
54.	8.0	0.34	'Mabaya' —do—	—do—
55.	4.0	0.27	In incuse 'Magoja'.	Deleted.
56.	7.5	0.32 × .25 Oblong	'Mapaja' (va).	Animal to r.
57.	6.375	0.33 Sqr.	In incuse 'Mapajava' or 'Magojava'.	Bull to r. on l. not distinct.
58.	7.5 6 coins Average	0.38 Sqr.	In incuse 'Magoja'.	Indistinct.
59.	8.5	0.35 × .3	In incuse 'Magoja' and no room for other letters.	—do—
60.	5.0	0.25 Sqr.	In incuse 'Magojava'.	An animal to r.
61.	7.5	0.35 × .3 Oblong	In incuse 'Magojava' (last letter not complete).	An Animal to r.
62.	5.0	0.35 × .28 Oblong	In incuse 'Gajama'.	Blank.
63.	11.0	0.35	In incuse 'Mapaya' (with old form of 'Ya').	Bull to l.
64.	7.5	0.3 Sqr.	In incuse 'Magajava', complete.	Horse or lion to r.
65.	7.5	0.26 Sqr.	—do— Last letter incomplete	Corroded.
66.	12.0	0.37	In incuse 'Mapachaya'.	Humped bull to l.
67.	10.0	0.35	In incuse 'Mapaya'.	Animal indistinct

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
68.	7.0	0.34	In incuse 'Mapacha'.	Bull to l.
69.	2.3	0.25 Sqr.	In 2 lines 'Dhajapa mabama(?)'.	Lion to r.
70.	7.0	0.35 Sqr.	In incuse 'Malava'.	Corroded.
71.	5.0	0.22	In incuse 'Maja'.	Rubbed.
72.	7.5	0.28	'Jampa'.	Deleted.
73.	4.0	0.25	Concave side 'Malava'.	Bull to l.
74.	8.0	0.33	In incuse part of legend—'Vana'.	Deleted.
75.	9.75 2 coins Average	0.4	Indistinct object round with 'Gavachama'.	Dots and perhaps an image.
76.	8.5 3 coins Average	0.4	Human head to l.	Indistinct ocject round which portions of an inscription.
77.	6.5	0.35	Human head.	Indistinct object, round which portions of inscription 'Jaya', letter cut.
78.	10.8	0.35	Round the coin—'Srimaharaja'.	Humped bull to l. in circle of dots.
79.	10.8 4 coins Average	0.32	Round the coin 'Maharaja'.	Humped bull to l. in circle of dots.
80.	7.5 2 coins Average	0.35	Human head to l.	Round an indefinite object 'Maha. Sajaya'.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
81.	10.0	0.35	As on S.No. 79.	As on S.No. 79.
82.	10.0	0.35	—do—	—do—
83.	8.0	0.32	In two lines 'Va maraja'.	
84.	8.7 10 coins Average	0.35	In incuse area 'Mapaya'.	Bull to l.
85.	8.0	0.35	'Mara'.	Corroded.
86.	8.5	0.3	In two lines--'ha nama'.	Indistinct.
87.	4.0	0.26 Sqr.	Tree and 'Malavana Jaya'.	Vase of peculiar shape.
88.	11.0	0.36× .28 Oblong	Bull to l.	Vase with flowers in it.
89.	8.0	0·35 .33 Oblong	Deleted.	Vase with other flowers in it.
90.	10.5	0.35	Standing bull, facing to r. in a circle.	Corroded.
91.	8.0	0.35x .3 Oblong	Tree in railings occupies whole area.	Deer to r.

S.K. Chakrabortty in his book, 'A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics (1931), has classified the coins of the Mālava tribe basing on the classification of V.A. Smith. He has made some necessary modifications for convenience in reference.

Class 'A'

(With Tribal Name)

'Copper'

Group I

(a)—Circular coins of the 2nd century B.C. There are altogether eleven coins in this group. For determining the date of these coins, Smith relies upon Nos. 1 & 11. As they bear legend in Prākṛt—'Malavana Jaya (on coin No. 11) and 'Mālavānā' [not Malava(nam) on coin No. 1], they may belong to that early period.

The other ones which have legends in Sanskrit of the classical style are of a later date (perhaps the 2nd century A.D.).

S.No.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	'Mala' tree in railing.	Nandipada symbol.
2.	'Mālaya'.	Obscure irregular dots.
3.	Hill symbol (so-called Chaitya of the arches) above 'Jaya' in large old characters.	Radiate Sun and another symbol; legend 'Malavana' in 2nd century B.C. script.

'Mala' of S.No. 1 is taken by Douglas as the name of the founder of the tribe.

'Mālaya' of S.No. 2 might have been derived from 'Mala', meaning the tribe of 'Mala'.

(b)—This coin pertains to 100 B.C. to 100 A.D.

S.No.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	Legend 'Mālavā'.	A zig-zag line (snake or river) and Nandipada symbol (Smith's 7 & 8).

(c)—These coins are from 100 A.D. to 200 A.D.

S.No.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	Legend 'Mālavānaṁ Jaya' in classical Saṅskrit.	Obscure. (Coin Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6 & 9. of Smith's catalogue).
2.	Conventional tree in railing with 'Ja' at l. and 'Ya' at r.	Perhaps the legend is 'Mālavānāṁ'.

Group II

The coins falling under this group bear the figure of Vase on the reverse. They are circular in shape.

S.No.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	Mālava Jaya' in script of 2nd century B.C.	Vase in dotted circle.

Group III

These coins have the figure of Tree and Vase on them. They are both rectangular and circular. The legends are in Prākṛt form and may be dated in the 1st century B.C. or A.D.

S.No.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	Tree in railing in centre legend—'Malavaṇa Jaya'.	Vase in dotted border.

The other variants of the legend on the obverse are—

1. Malava Jaya.
2. Mālavaṇa Jaya, and
3. Mālavāṇa Jaya.

Group IV

Coins of this group bear the figure of Lion on the reverse.

S.No.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	The legend 'Mālava Jaya' and other variants.	Lion standing l.

Group V

The coins of this group are of circular and rectangular shape. They bear the figure of bull and seem to be of a later date probably of the 1st century A.D.

S.No.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	'Malavahna jaya' & other variants.	Humped bull walking l.

Coin Nos. 41, 47 & 49 in Smith's catalogue do not clearly belong to this type. The legend is reversed in No. 57. It is to be read from right to left. It belongs to the 2nd century B.C.

Group VI

These coins bear the figure of human head on the reverse. They are circular in shape. Coin Nos. 58, 59, 60 & 72 of Smith's catalogue have been correctly considered by Douglas to be Nāga coins. No. 61 is a Mālava coin. Smith also recognises the similarity of these coins with the Nāga coins.

Obverse	*Reverse*
The legend should be read as 'Mahāgaṇasa Jaya' (victory to Mahārāja Gaṇapati) (distinct points of similarity in design between them and the coins of Mahārāja Gaṇapati of Nāga).	Human head r. with curly hair. Rapson differs with the identification of Smith. It is actually difficult to recognise the type as the curly head can be a fan-tail peacock.

Group VII

Fan-tail peacock at the reverse. The coins are of an early date. They probably belong to the 2nd century B.C. The letters from right to left.

Obverse	*Reverse*
Central device very obscure. In Smith's opinion it stands for a female figure. Legend 'Mālava Gaṇasya Jaya'.	Peacock facing with expanded tail, covering the whole surface of the coin.

Group VIII

The coins of this group bear miscellaneous devices. Some coins are of early date. Coin Nos. 66 & 67 (Smith's catalogue) are of the 2nd century B.C. They have 'Mala' as legends. No. 64 (Smith's) belongs probably to the 2nd century A.D. Two coins of this group contain Tree on the obverse and one with an open lotus flower. Three other coins have the variants of the 'Mālava'. On reverse Smith identified Nandipada but the figure of a snake and a peacock and a solar symbol as he suggests cannot be made out.

Class 'B'

(With the names of Chiefs)

Group I

The early tribal chiefs—100 B.C. or earlier

1. Tree in railing type

   Legend: 'Bhapaṁayana' or 'Bhaṁpayana'—C. 200 B.C. Animal on the reverse seems to be a recumbent bull. Smith (coin No. 68) considers it to be a lion or tiger.

2. Tree in railing type

   Mālava symbol in the reverse. Smith No. 69.

3. 'Majupa' i.e. 'Mahārāja Jupa' (Yūpa)

   Legend in two lines.

   1. 'Malavā' } Both read from right to left.
   2. 'Majupa' }

   Reverse is obscure—perhaps a lion. It is an early coin of C. 200 B.C. (Smith's No. 70).

Group II

From C. 100 B.C.-100 A.D.

1. Legend in single line—'Mapojaya'— Jayaswal takes it to be 'Mahājaya' i.e. 'Mahārāja Jaya'. There are two types of these coins:—

   1. With lion on reverse (No. 71) and
   2. With elephant on reverse (No. 72).

2. 'Mapaya' or 'Mahārāja Paya'. Perhaps the same man as 'Paya' and therefore of a later date (C.300 A.D. according to Smith).
    1. Humped bull on the reverse and single line legend 'Mapaya' on the obverse (Smith's Nos. 73-78).
    2. The same obverse but lion on the reverse (?) (No. 7a and 72a) is a Nāga coin and referred to above.

3. 'Magajaśa' is the abbreviation of 'Mahārāja Gajaśa' (of Mahārāja Gaja).

4. 'Magaja' is the identical name—'Mahārāja Gaja'. Coins Nos. 80-84 (Smith) may be taken to be the coins of one and the same Mālava chief.
    1. Obv—'Magajaśa'.
       Rev—Defaced (Nos. 80 & 81).
    2. Obv—'Magaja'.
       Rev—Elephant or obscure (Nos. 82 & 84).

5. 'Magojava' or 'Magajava' (Jayaswal) i.e. 'Mahārāja Gajava' (Gajapa). This name appears to be identical with Gajava.
   Legend—'Magojava' on the obverse and lion sitting on the reverse (Nos. 85-87).

6. 'Gajava' (Gajapa?). Perhaps identical with Chief No. 5.

   Obv—'Gajava'.
   Rev—Lion (?).

7. 'Gajara'.

   Obv—'Gajara'.
   Rev--Animal running (No. 88).

8. 'Masapa' or 'Maśapa' or 'Mahārāja Sarapa' (Jayaswal).

   Obv—'Māśapa'.
   Rev—Defaced.

9. 'Pachha'.

   Obv—'Pachha'.
   Rev—Chief's head (?).

10. 'Magachha' or 'Mahārāja Gachha'.

The Bull type—the legend Magachha on the obverse and bull l. on the reverse (No. 94).

11. 'Jamapaya'.

The legend—Obv—'Jamapaya'.
Rev—Blank or defaced (No. 99).

Class 'C'

(*Late period C.100 A.D.-300 A.D.*)

1. 'Yama' legend in 2 lines. It is of about 100 A.D.
Obv—'Yama' in first line, 2nd line illegible.
Rev—A bull (Coin No. 92).

2. Obv—Jāmaka
Rev—Defaced (Coin No. 98).

3. Legend in two lines. It is of about 2nd century A.D.
Obv—(Ma) h (ā) in first line, 'rāya' in second line.
Rev—Blank or defaced (Coin No. 101).

4. Obv—'Marāja'.
Rev—Bull (Coin Nos. 102 & 103).

Perhaps an abbreviation for Mahārāja and Mahārāya, may be the name of the same chief specially because the coin is also dated in the 2nd century A.D.

5. Mapaka'—'Mahārāja Paka'.
Obv—'Mapaka'.
Rev—Bull (2nd century A.D.).

6. 'Paya' the Bull type.
Obv—'Paya'.
Rev—Bull (about 300 A.D.).

A later date character 'Mapaya' (No. 74) and this 'Paya' were probably the same man.

Class 'D'

(*Without Legend*)

1. Obv—Peacock with expanded tail, facing.
   Rev—Squatted human figure to l. with obscure marks on the r. (No. 104).

2. Obv—Vase containing flowers.
   Rev—Bull standing l. (No. 105).

3. Obv—Pinnate palm-leaf.
   Rev—Vase.

   The smallest coin in this collection is only 1.7 grains in weight and .2″ in diameter (No. 106).

4. Obv—Pinnate palm-leaf.
   Rev—Bull standing l. (Nos. 107 & 108).

5. Obv—Tree in railing.
   Rev—Indistinct.

   Perhaps with legend 'Jaya' the coin is analogous to coin No. 4 of Smith and similar to coin No. 26 of Douglas.

6. Obv—Bull with large horns and speeding ears standing l.
   Rev—Defaced.

7. (a) Obv—Mālava symbol.
   Rev—Conventional lotus flower.

   (b) Obv—Defaced.
   Rev—Open lotus flower.

COINS OF THE MĀLAVAS PUBLISHED BY R.O. DOUGLAS IN THE JASB, Vol-XIX (1923)

1. *Obverse*—'Mālaya'.

   Reverse—Obscure markings in the shape of irregular dots. It is thicker and of coarser workmanship than many of the coins.

2. *Obverse*—'Mala' in clear letters written twice (on top from left to right and below from r. to l.) (inscription complete).

Reverse—? (Nothing given).

It is probably of the older type. Like S.No. 1, it is thicker than many of the coins of its size. 'Mala' may be the name of some chief, named after the original founder of the tribe. 'Malaya' is probably a derivative for 'Mala' which means 'the tribe of Mala'.

3. *Obverse*—'Mala' in centre of the coin—very faint. (Probably the complete inscription.)

Reverse—Defaced.

It can be considered to be a kindered coin to No. 2 but a later issue.

4. *Obverse*—'Jampa'.

Reverse—Obscure.

It is perhaps the same coin as No. 12455 in Rodger's catalogue, and 99 of Smith's catalogue. Smith is mistaken in reading a 'Ya' endwise and this mark is only a defect in the coin.

5. *Obverse*—'Yama' on left and tree in railing on right.

Reverse—Defaced.

This coin appears to be connected with No. 69 in Smith's catalogue.

6. *Obverse*—(ma)? Gaja.

Reverse—Elephant facing right.

Same as Nos. 82 and 83 in Smith's Catalogue. 'Gaja' is Saṅskrit for an elephant. The device on the reverse therefore seems to be connected with the name. The prefix 'Ma' in these coins may possibly be an abbreviation for 'Mahā' meaning great. It may be a minister's name. 'Ma' applied to the three gods of the Trimūrti. 'Magaja' would then mean 'Elephant of 'Śiva' or 'Elephant of Viṣṇu' etc.

7. *Obverse*—Tree and 'Na Jaya' Mālava obscured.

Reverse—Obscure (but probably animal with horns facing l.).

It is similar to Nos. 49 to 58 in Smith's catalogue and 12411 in Rodger's catalogue.

8. *Obverse*—'Mālava' only (in bold characters set in an incuse circle).

Reverse—Humped bull facing left in standing position.

There is no parallel to this coin in either Rodger's or Smith's catalogue. It belongs to the circular Bull type.

9. *Obverse*—'Mālava' only (across the centre).

Reverse—Humped bull facing left.

It is somewhat similar to No. 7.

10. *Obverse*—Palm branch with 'Mālava' on one side and 'Najaya' on the other.

Reverse—Animal facing right in dotted border.

It is almost same as No. 28 or 30 in Smith's catalogue.

11. *Obverse*—'Mālava', Na Jaya.

Reverse—Humped bull facing left recumbent.

Rectangular. Somewhat similar to No. 37 of Smith's catalogue.

12. *Obverse*—'Mālava' only in the centre of the coin.

Reverse—Bull facing left.

Possibly same as 12546 of Rodger's catalogue.

13. *Obverse*—'Mālava Sujaya'.

Reverse—Humped bull facing right.

Large and square. The inscription means 'the well conquering Mālava'.

14. *Obverse*—'Mālava' in incuse square.

Reverse—Animal facing left.

Cylindrical in shape.

15. *Obverse*—'Mālava' and tree (the part obscured is probably 'Najaya').

Reverse—Lion facing left.

Probably similar to No. 28 of Smith's catalogue.

16. *Obverse*—'Mālava Na Jaya' (very faint).

Reverse—Lion facing right.

Does not resemble any of the lion type coins of the Smith's catalogue.

17. *Obverse*— 'Malaya' or 'Mālava' in bold letters across the middle.
Reverse— Blank.

Similar to No. 73 of Smith's catalogue. In construction, it is similar to the earlier coins.

18. *Obverse*—'Mālava' in centre.
Reverse—Elephant.

It has a fairly good condition and the formation of the letters and general appearance are good. It is of a later type.

19. *Obverse*—'Mālava' only.
Reverse—Defaced.

20. *Obverse*—'Mālava' only.
Reverse—Defaced.

21. *Obverse*—'Mālava' on top and traces of 'Ya' below.
Reverse—Defaced.

22. *Obverse*— 'Mālava' and tree.
Reverse—Defaced.

23. *Obverse*—Tree and ? 'Jaya'.
Reverse—Defaced.

24. *Obverse*—'Mala' ? (Va).
Reverse—Tree in railing.

25. *Obverse*—Tree in railing on left; right letters obscured.
Reverse—Animal in dotted border.

No parallel in catalogues.

26. *Obverse*—Tree with traces of inscriptions on each side.
Reverse—Small vase in dotted border.

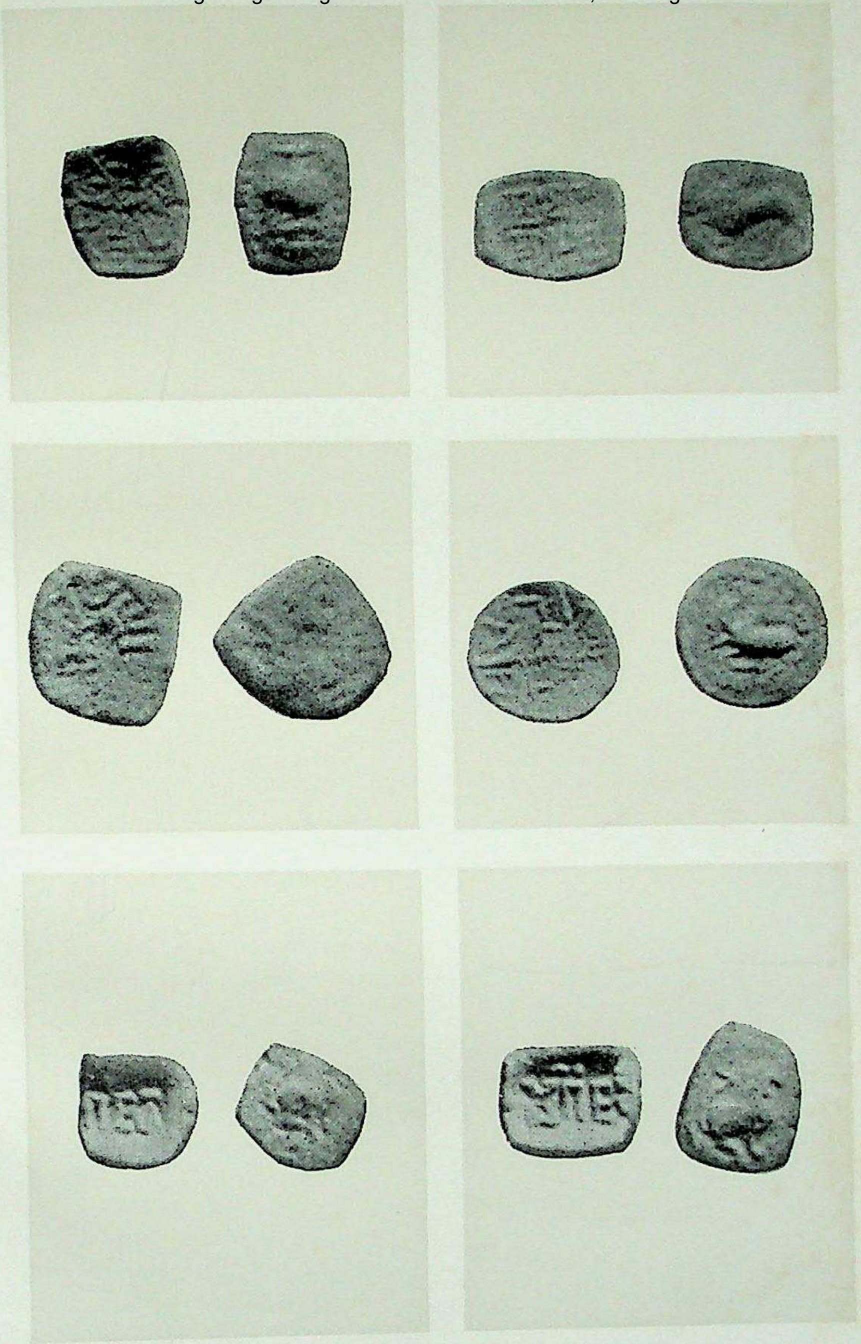
Similar to Nos. 14-22 in Smith's catalogue and 12426-12429 of Rodger's catalogue.

27. *Obverse*—Tree and legend 'Jaya'.
Reverse—Indistinct (possibly a figure between two sacrificial posts in a dotted square).

28. *Obverse*—'Mala' ? (Va).
Reverse—Vase with handles.

29. *Obverse*—Legend in two lines somewhat obscure.
Reverse—Loṭā in dotted circle.

It is possibly same as No. 12 of Smith's catalogue.



Plate—VI, The Mālava Coins

30. *Obverse*—Ujjain-symbol.

Reverse—Obscure markings (on one edge) resemble lotus.

31. *Obverse*—Open lotus flower on one side. Other side defaced.

Reverse—Blank.

Possibly the same as No. 12425 in Rodger's cat.

32. *Obverse*—'Mālava'.

Reverse—Lotus flower.

4. (b) PROVENANCE AND TECHNIQUE OF MANUFACTURE

The Mālava coins are generally found in the country about Ajmer, Tonk and Chitor.[1]

It was Carlleyle[2] who first brought to notice, Mālava's small coins with the name—'*Mālvānā*' in old Indian characters. He obtained about 6,000 of them at Nāgar in 1871-73, or *Karkoṭanagar*, a place situated at a distance of 45 miles south-east of Tonk and about 15 miles to the south-west of Uniyara. According to Carlleyle's and Cunningham's judgment, the age of these coins ranges from 250 B.C. to 250 A.D. or at the latest, 350 A.D., a period of 5 or 6 centuries. The initial date of these coins as Rapson[3] and Smith[4] have considered, does not appear to be earlier than 150 B.C.

At *Rairh*, situated in the erstwhile state of Jaipur, some Mālava coins have been found along with a lead-stamp-seal, which contains the legend—'*Mālava Janapadasa*'. Some of them can be assigned to the 1st century B C. but most of them are of a later date.

The Mālavas are contemporary tribe of the Yaudheyas. The legends on the coins of both the tribes are more or less similar. It is therefore safe to presume that the technique of the manufacture of the coins of both these tribes might have been the same.

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[1] Chakrabortty, S.K., AIN, p-191.

[2] ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-149-50.

[3] IC, pp-12-13.

[4] CCIM, p-160 ff, 170 ff.

4. (c) TYPES AND SYMBOLS

The following are the types and symbols used by the Mālavas on their coinage:—

1. Bull

Bull (Nandī) is the vāhana of Śiva. Ujjain was a famous centre of the Śaivites. As we find from many ancient temples situated at this place that Mahākāla was worshipped with great veneration, this bull also must have been getting great reverence since it is associated with Lord Śiva.

The Mālavas were agriculturists besides being soldiers. At the time of Alexander's invasion, they were working in their fields. The value of a bull for an agriculturist needs no explanation, and therefore. keeping in view the importance of this animal the Mālavas put the figure of this bull on their coinage.

2. Elephant

It represents great strength. The Mālavas were desperate fighters. They aspired for the inculcation of strength in the tribe. To depict and to propagate the idea of magnanimity and boldness of their tribal strength, they might have embossed the figure of this great animal on their coinage.

3. Lion

Lion represents boldness and bravery besides some moral standards of its general nature. These arrogant and renowned warriors had rightly given a place to this animal on their coinage, as the attitude of the tribe was identical with the animal's characteristics.

4. Stag

One of the most beautiful and innocent creatures of the animal kingdom is the stag. It is symbolic of great speed. We know that this tribe had to play a very important role for the safety of their freedom. Their mobility has been proved to be superior to most of the other contemporary tribes. They withdrew for safety to more uncongenial areas when pressed hard by their enemies. To depict the idea enumerated above they had chosen the figure of this animal known for its rapidity in taking decisions to gallop towards safer areas, besides its aesthetic significance.

5. Fan-tail Peacock

This beautiful bird is considered very sacred by the Hindus. Even today we find peacocks with their fan-tail in most of the drawings, paintings and photographs in which different gods and goddesses are portrayed. The tribe must have chosen to give a place to this bird on their coinage to portray sanctity and religious belief. We have discussed about the significance of this bird in detail while dealing with the coinage of the Yaudheyas.

6. Tree in railing

We know of its identification with the Audumbara fig tree in the coinage of the Audumbaras. But the tree on the coinage of this tribe cannot be correctly identified, though it can be taken to be the influence of the general tree-cult of ancient India.

7. Human Figure

The human figure found on the coins of this tribe is squatted to left. The human head has sometimes been considered by numismatists to be the head of some chief or king but because it is not very clear, some have taken such human figure to be the figure of a fan-tail peacock.

8. Vase with Leaves

This gives an idea of religious sanctity and self-sufficiency for which the tribe craved hard.

9. Lotsu Flower

The flower symbolizes 'Śrī' or 'Sarasvatī' (the goddess of learning). As Ujjain happened to be a seat of advanced learning in the past where renowned scholars like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Māgha and others lived and contemplated on the advancement of different sciences and humanities, it is certain that the administration must have correctly given a place to this flower on which Sarasvatī is considered to reside.

10. Female with left hand on hip

This figure can be considered to be of goddess Lakshmī. She represents prosperity and economic stability and therefore she must have been worshipped by the tribe. We know that even today this goddess is considered to be representing good luck and fortune.

11. Hill (so-called Chaitya)

On the coins of the Yaudheyas, this figure has been considered to be a Buddhist Stūpa. Such figures have been unearthed embossed on various earthen-ware in excavations. It can be presumed to be a figure of some hill also, signifying the physical features of the area occupied by this tribe during the period of the issue of such coinage.

4. (d) PALAEOGRAPHY OF COIN-LEGENDS

Coinage of the Mālavas can be given the following 3 classifications as per their legends :—

1. Coins bearing the legends probably depicting various forms of their tribal name.
2. Coins bearing no legends at all.
3. Coins bearing meaningless legends considered to be the names of their princes/chiefs.

1. These coins contain the following legends presumed to be the different forms of the name of the Mālava tribe :—

(a) 'Mala'.
(b) 'Mālaya' or 'Malaya'.
(c) 'Mālava' or 'Malava'.
(d) 'Mālava Jaya' (the Mālava victory).
(e) 'Mālavāna Jaya', and its variants, 'Malavana Jaya', 'Mālavana Jaya' or 'Malavahna Jaya' etc. (victory of the Mālavas—in Prākṛt).
(f) 'Mālavānaṁ Jaya' (victory of the Mālavas).
(g) 'Mālava Gaṇasya' (of the Mālava Gaṇa).
(h) 'Mālava Sujaya' (the well-conquering Mālava); only on one coin.

They reveal their prolonged use for about 4 or 5 centuries as we find them in characters as ancient as the oldest of the

Lāṭ inscriptions of the edicts of Aśoka and we come aeross the same legends on other coins of the 1st, 2nd and the 3rd centuries A.D.

2. Coins of this class are small and light. The smallest one (.2″ in diameter and 1.7 grains in weight) of this class is considered to be the smallest known coin of the world.[1]

3. Coins of this class contain meaningless short legends. The real significance of the short legends is not definitely known. They have been considered to be the names of the tribal chiefs of some foreign origin.[2] These short legends are:—

(a) 'Bhapaṁayana'.
(b) 'Gajava'.
(c) 'Gojara'.
(d) 'Haraya' (wrongly supposed to stand for the royal title—'Mahārāja').
(e) 'Jamaka'.
(f) 'Jamaku'.
(g) 'Jamapaya'.
(h) 'Magacha'.
(i) 'Magaja'.
(j) 'Magajaśa'.
(k) 'Magajava'.
(l) 'Majupa'.
(m) 'Mapaka'.
(n) 'Mapaya'.
(o) 'Mapojaya'.
(p) 'Maraja'.
(q) 'Masapa'.
(r) 'Pachha'.
(s) 'Paya'.
(t) 'Yama', etc.

Normally, the name of the Mālavas cannot be traced on these coins. Sircar has considered the coins of the 2nd and the 3rd classes to be imitations[3]. Among the coins of class-1 also, he considers the following varieties to be imitations.—

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[1] Smith, V.A., Op. Cit., Coin No. 106.
[2] Ibid., p-161 ff.
[3] JNSI, Vol-XXIV (1962), Pt-I & II, p-2.

1. Those coins on which the legend '*Mālavānaṁ*' has been read as '*Malavahna*'.
2. Those on which the legend is to be read from right to left.

Smith has considered the above legends to be of some foreign rulers. Douglas[1] and Chakrabortty have regarded them as the names of Mālava chiefs. Three letters - '*Ma*', '*Ga*' and '*Ja*', which occur on coin Nos. 82 to 84 of the Smith's catalogue and which were taken to be the name of king, have been suggested by Bhandarkar to be the abbreviated forms of the words '*Mālava Gaṇasya Jayaḥ*' (victory to the Mālava Gaṇa), which occur on coin Nos. 58 to 61.

Though the names do not look Indian, it is difficult to think what invaders could have struck them. They are too late for the Śakas and too early for the Hūṇas and besides that, not a single name out of over 20, bears any resemblance to any known Śaka or Hūṇa name. Allan[2] objects to their being taken as names at all. He considers them to be meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of '*Mālavānaṁ Jayaḥ*'.

R.O. Douglas considers that there are instances when the tribal name has been written—'Malaya' instead of 'Mālava'. 'Ma', 'Pa', 'Ja' therefore may be explained as equivalent to 'Malajayah' = 'Mālava Jayaḥ'.

The legends on some of the coins of the Mālavas have to be read from right to left as in Kharoṣṭhī which is almost an unprecedented thing in Brāhmī. This is definitely due to their northern origin where Kharoṣṭhī was the prevalent script since the Achaemenid conquest of north-western India.

Legends of the earliest coins are in the Brāhmī script of the 2nd century B.C.[3] Those coins which are the latest, may be assigned to the 4th century A.D. In about 330 A.D. Samudragupta conquered northern India which resulted in the cessation of local coinages. Rapson has gone too far when he observes that coins bearing—'*Mālavānaṁ Jayaḥ*' were formerly regarded as ancient but both the character of their inscription and the fact that they are in fabric somewhat similar to the coins of the Nāgas of *Padmāvatī*[1] point to a date not earlier than the 5th century A.D.

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[1] JASB (1923), NS, Vol-XXVII, p-237.

[2] Op. Cit., pp-CIV-CVIII, Cf. Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, pp-149-151, Jayaswal, K.P., HP, p-28; Douglas, R.O., JASB (1923), p-237.

[3] Smith, V.A., Op., Cit., p-161.

Inscriptions were done in Prākṛt in the 2nd century B.C. (the date assigned for these coins by V.A. Smith). We have not come across any coinage of this period with Saṅskrit inscriptions. The legend on these coins is '*Mālavānāṁ Jayaḥ*' which is pure Saṅskrit as we know that the genitive plurals in Prākṛt end in '*ana*' and '*anam*' and never in '*ānam*'.

The oldest of the coins found at Nāgar, which have legends in characters of the Aśokan period, have generally only one symbol—'A Bodhi tree with a Buddhist railings' but the coins which have legends in characters of a later date bear the figure of a bull surmounted by dots on the reverse. The later ones closely resemble the well known small coins of the Nāgas of the Narwār, most of which have the figure of a bull surmounted by dots on the reverse.

5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE TRIBE AS GLEANED FROM THEIR COINAGE

The Mālavas were brave, warlike and freedom loving. They were of uncommon height and possessed dignifying bearing. They looked like the personification of gallantry and heroism when they rode their glittering chariots in liner robes embodied with inwrought gold and purple.

But besides the above qualities, they had some disqualification also. They were arrogant people. They were isolationists and therefore could not plan their defences strategically at the time of Alexander's invasion. They could not patch up their differences with the Kshudrakas who were at first late in joining them and afterwards walked away from the operation leaving the Mālavas all alone to confront this great formidable enemy.

At the time of their submission to Alexander they declared that 'they were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy',[2] and it was due to the will of gods and not through fear that they had bowed to his steel.[3]

During the period of this invasion, the Mālavas seem to have been in a high state of civilization. They were mainly

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1. JRAS (1897), p-643.
2. Arrian, VI. 14.
3. Curtius, IX.7.

agriculurists and were engaged in fields at the time of the attack.

The Macedonians were very much impressed by their appearance as they were men of tall stature and good personality.

They were zealous heroes of freedom. They preferred the jungle life across the river Rāvī or the indiscriminate massacres at the hands of the army of Alexander rather than the life of servility and vassalage.

Pātañjali remarks that only the members of the ruling Kshatriya class among the Mālavas were called Mālavya and Kshaudrakya. The slaves and free labourers were not permitted to use their titles.[1]

The aristocracy was thus privileged with the bearing of tribal surname. It were they who managed the administration as we learn from Arrian that after their defeat they sent the leading men of their cities to conclude the treaty with Alexander.

The Madrakas, Mallakas (Malloi), the Lichchhavis, the Kukuras, the Kurus and the Pāñchālas have been mentioned by Kauṭilya as *Saṁgha* whose members adopted the title of king and made capital out of it—'*Rājaśabdopajīvin*'.[2]

The monarchist movements had reduced the tribes to mercenary status. This was regarded inferior to that of a Militia and it was this reason because of which Kauṭilya[3] has called their chiefs—'Distraced' and 'Disenchanted' (Utsāhahīna).

The celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang visited the kingdom of Mo-la-po during his tour of India. According to him learning was much prized.[4] He writes that people were of gentle disposition. They were intelligent and refined in speech. They had a liberal education. Mo-la-po in the south-west and Magadha in the north-west were the two countries where learning was prized. Virtue was esteemed and humanity respected and intellectually clever were the zealous students in this country. The Chinese tourist considered the civilization of Mo-la-po as a model. While comparing the conditions and situations of other contemporary states he has taken Mo-la-po as a standard. He writes that in speech and in social regulations and laws, the inhabitants of A-ta-li resembled those of

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1. Mbh., IV.1.168.
2. AS, XI.1, p-376.
3. Ibid., VII.14, p-307.
4. Watters, 'On Yuan Chwang', II, p-242.

Mo-la-po. Ki-ta was a rich district and bore a resemblance to Mo-la-po while Vallabhī resembled it in products, climate and the character and ways of the people and Ānandapura equalled it in products, climate and institutions.

They had their own currency. The statement of Quintus Curtius about the present of 100 talents of white-iron (Ferri Candidi) to Alexander is noteworthy. These white talents could not be Tin as it is too soft for currency and the Greeks could not have called it white metal as they were familiar with tin. It must have, therefore, been Nickel as Cunningham also considers. This gives us an idea of their developed knowledge of metals.

Ujjain was one of the chief centres of cultural movements in India from the time of the great Buddha to the conquests of the Moslems. It was famous for literary activities. Kālidāsa had closely associated himself with Ujjain. Bāṇa, Majura, Māgha have been connected to this city in traditions.

Bāṇa, a contemporary of Hiuen-Tsang, tells highly of the cultural achievements of Ujjain. He considers this place to be the birth-place of the Golden Age. About the people, he writes that they were connoisseurs in all the arts. They were pleasant, intelligent and charming in their humour, spotless in attire, skilled in foreign languages, versed in stories of all kinds, accomplished in letters, having a keen diligence in the holy books like the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa and the Śāstras. They were devoted to light literature also. They were familiar with Bṛhatakathā. They were masters of the whole circle of arts especially gambling. They ordered for the making of water-works, bridges, temples, pleasure-gardens, wells, hostels, way-side sheds for watering, and halls of assembly.

The envoys of the Mālavas and others offered very rare and sumptuous gifts which very well indicate the wealth of the community and advanced state of material prosperity. The gifts comprised of the following costly and rare articles[1]:—

1. Four-horsed chariots—1030 (according to another account—500).
2. Some tame lions and tigers of extra ordinary size.
3. Bucklers—1000.
4. Talents of white iron—100 (probably steel).

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[1] Smith, V.A., 'Ancient Hindu India', p-65.

5. A great quantity of cotton cloth.
6. Skins of crocodiles.
7. Tortoise shells.

The smallness of the size of the coins of the tribe, besides their not introducing silver in their coinage suggests their low economic condition in general.

The territory of the Mālavas and their population were large. The state comprised of several cities. The citizens were rich. We learn from the descriptions of the Greeks that they had no idea of any sort of mercenary life. The Mālava state was noted for wealth and prosperity.

The unpleasant climatic conditions and inaccessibility of their territory by outsiders kept the Mālavas away from the outside world. There had been a series of attacks from the north-west but the invaders did not venture to disturb them. The efforts for the formation of fresh empire in India also failed to encroach upon their territory and keep them annexed for a long time.[1] Their culture, social life and economy, therefore, remained self-centred even in their dress and costumes. They stuck to their own traditional standards. The Nāṭyasāra of Bharatamuni[2] describes a Mālava in his tribal dress and a Mālava-chief has been portrayed in the Ajantā caves clad exactly as described in the Nāṭyasāra (in—shorts, posed in heroic posture with a flower in right hand). This is further evidenced from the fact that very few coins of outside origin have been found at Nāgara.

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[1] Of course we know that during the period of the Guptas the great conqueror Samudragupta annexed their territory but the Allahabad pillar inscription records them as having paid taxes in person. This testifies that they had not been completely annexed in the Gupta empire. They maintained their own system of administration.

[2] Ganguli, O.C., Modern Review, Vol-cxiii, No. 4, p-304-5.

The Audumbaras

4

1. ORIGIN AND GROWTH

There is an interesting story significantly associated with the birth of *Viśvāmitra*, the national sage, whose figure and name later found place on the coins of the tribe of the Audumbaras. The name Audumbara also is supposed to be a derivative from the *Udumbara* (Fig) tree which finds description in the following verse. The verse in original from the *Kālikāpurāṇa*,[1] is reproduced below :—

"*Kṛtadāraṁ sutaṁ śrutv ādraṣṭum putraṁ snusāṁ bhṛguḥ,*
Ath-ājagāma matimān snuṣāṁ dṛṣṭā nananda ca.
Dampatī taṁ samāsīnam bhṛguṁ devagaṇ-ārcitam,
Pūjayitvā yathā-nyāyaṁ tasthatu-stau kṛtāñjalī.
Tato bhṛguḥ snuṣāṁ svīyaṁ suprīta idam-avravīt,
Varaṁ vṛṇiṣva dāsyāmi vāñchitaṁ varavarṇini.
Adeyaṁ duṣkaraṁ vāpi yatra te vartate sprhā,
Tataḥ satyavatī putraṁ tapa-āmnāya-pārgam.
Mātuś-ca vīram-atulaṁ putraṁ varam-ayācata,
Sa ca-ivam-astv-ity-uktva-iva bhūtvā dhyānaparas-tadā.
Viśvamāvātṛtya manasā yatnā-cchvāsaṁ sasarja saḥ,
Tasya niḥśvāsavātat-tu niḥsṛtaṁ vai carudvayam.
Tasya-itad-dvitayaṁ dattvā bhṛgus-tām-idam avravīt,
Carudvayaṁ gṛhāṇ-edaṁ snuṣe satyavatī svayam.
Snātvā ṛtau ṛtau māta tadā tvañ-ca kariṣyathaḥ,
Alingy-āśvatthavṛkṣaṁ te mātā puṁsavanāyava.
Carum-āraktakañ-c-emaṁ sā bhokṣyati sutas-tata,
Tvān-co-dumbaravṛkṣān-tu samāliṇgyā sitaṁ carum.
Bhokṣyase tava putras-tu bhaviṣyati sanātanaḥ,
Evam-uktvā bhṛgur-yātu yathe-cchāṁ sā-pi sammudam.

1, Kālikāpurāṇa (Bangabasi Ed), Ch-82; (Venkateshvar Ed),Ch-85.

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Avāpa mā[illegible] *bhāmini.*
Atha snānadine śvattham āliñgy-āraktakaṁ carun.
Adāt satyavati tasyā mātā phalgusitaṁ carum,
Farivarttantu taj-jñatvā divyajñano bhṛgurmuniḥ.
Ath-āgatya ṣnuṣāṁ tān-tu vacan-añc-edam-avravīt,
Viparyaya-stvayā bhadre vṛkṣā-liṅganakarmani.
Tathā caru-prāsane tu tatr-edam-te bhaviṣyati,
Brāhmaṇaḥ kṣattriy-ācāras-tava putro bhaviṣyati.
Kṣattriyo brāhmaṇ-ācaro mātu-ste bhavitā sutaḥ,
It-yuktvā bhṛguṇā sādhvī tadā satyavatī bhṛgum.
Punaḥ praśādayāmāsa pautro me-h'st-vi-ti tadṛ'saḥ,
Evam-as-tvi-ti sa procya satatr-ai-v-āntarada-dhebhṛguḥ
Atha kāle sutaṁ diptam jamadagṇiñ-ca-gādhijā,
Suṣuve janani tasyā viśvāmitraṁ taponidhim.
Jamadagni-stato vedā-niscatuṛaḥ prāpa māciram,
Prādu-rāsīddhanurvedaḥ svayaṁ tasmin mahātmani.
Viśvāmitropi sakalān vedān āpa tathī cirāt,
Dhanurvedaṁ tathā kṛtsnaṁ vipra-scābhūt-tapovalāt."

The English version of the above is as follows :—

"On hearing that his son had been married, the wise *Bhṛgu* went (to the hermitage of his son Reika) to see his son and daughter-in-law and he became pleased on seeing her. The two—bride and the bride-groom, worshipping *Bhṛgu*, who was waited on by the Gods and also who was seated in a due manner, stood (before him) with folded hands. Then *Bhṛgu*, highly pleased, addressed his own daughter-in-law,—'O' fair complexioned lady, pray for a desired boon which cannot be (ordinarily) granted and which is hard to attain. I shall grant (that).

Then, *Satyavatī* prayed for a son for herself, (who would be) well-versed in the observance of penances and the Vedas, and a son for her mother, (who would be) endowed with incomparable valour and powers. And he (Bhṛgu) said, 'Let it be so', and then becoming absorbed in meditation, visualized every thing and exhaled with care.

From his breath issued two *carus* (sweetened rice boiled with milk). *Bhṛgu*, giving those two *carus* to his dnughter-in-law, said, 'You and your mother partake of these two *carus* on each day of the menstrual-bath. For having a male issue, your mother should take the reddened *caru* after embracing the bo-tree (*Aśvattha*), and you should take the white *caru* after embracing a fig-tree (*Udumbara*), Thereby, you will have a meritorious (sanātana) son.'

Bhṛgu went away. *Satyavatī* and her parents and husband attained a jubilant mood. On the day of the menstrual-bath, *Satyavatī* embraced the *Aśvattha-tree* and partook of the reddened *caru*. Her mother ate the white *caru*. *Bhṛgu*, the sage with divine vision, learnt about this contrarity, came there and said this to his daughter-in-law,—'Oh! the lady with auspicious signs, you have acted in the reverse way in the matter of embracing the tree and of taking of the *caru* (for this reason), you will have a son (who will be) endowed with *Kshatriya-like* behaviour and your mother's son will be a *Kshatriya* with *Brāhmaṇical* behaviour.'

At this, *Satyavatī* pleasantly requested *Bhṛgu* with these words, 'Let my grandson be endowed with those qualities.' *Bhṛgu* disappeared after saying, 'Let it be so.'

The daughter of *Gādhi*, then delivered a valourous son named *Jamadāgni* and her mother gave birth to *Viśvāmitra*, to whom penance was wealth Within an incredibly short time *Jamadāgni* studied the four Vedas. He acquired skill in archery by himself. On the other hand, *Viśvāmitra* also became an adept in the Vedas and the science of archery within a short time. He became a *Brāhamaṇa* by dint of his penance.

This story is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[1] also. Brough[2] also says that Udumbara is the name of the descendant of the sage *Viśvāmitra* who is the founder of the *gotra* of the *Kauśika* group. K.P. Jayaswal[3] also asserts that *Viśvāmitra* was probably their national hero.

The most important fact to note in this story, is that, the mother of *Viśvāmitra* embraced an Audumbara (fig) tree to have a child. This story contains miraculous and unbelievable things of course, but the association of *Viśvāmitra's* birth with the *Audumbara-tree*, is useful in explaining the occurrencc of his name and figure on the coins of the *Audumbaras*. The name of the tribe evidently being derived from the *Udumbara* or *Audumbara* tree, the tree was worshipped by the tribe as a symbol of relationship.

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[1] Mbh., Śānti-parva, Ch-49, Śl.6-to 30 (Gītā Press Ed.).

[2] 'The Early Brāhmaṇical System of Gotra And Pravara', pp-147-48, 153, 157.

[3] Jayaswal, K.P., HP, p-159.

The words, *Udumbara* and *Audumbara* are taken for tribes of the same name. The word *Audumbara* is ingenitive in *Prākṛt* on coins as *Odu(ṁ)barisa. Ptolemy*[1] has termed it as *Odomboerae*. Anyhow, the words under referrence here mean fig-tree (Ficus glomerata). As per the assertion of *Pāṇini*, it denotes a country in which the fig-trees were found in abundance.[2]

K.K. Dasgupta also considers that the term *Audumbara* is the *Taddhita* form of the word '*Udumbara*', which means either the people connected with the fig-tree or a country where this tree grew in abundance.[3]

Some small Hindu copper-pieces bearing the name of *Odumbaras* in *Arian Pāli* letters were found by Cunningham near *Nurpur*. Nurpur is a place where glomerous fig-trees are found even now in abundance. On this basis, he puts forth his argument in support of the fact that the tribe flourished in this territory.

The tribe had an important place in ancient India. They have therefore been mentioned very frequently in literature. Udumbaras have been referred to be in association with the people of *Jālandhara* in the *Gaṇapātha* (Rājanyādi-gaṇa) on Pāṇini-iv-2.53. *Pātañjali*[4] on Pāṇini iv.2.71 has made a mention of river *Udumbarāvatī* which probably flowed through the territory of the Udumbaras.

The antiquity of the Audumbaras can be pushed back to about the 2nd century B.C. from the 1st century A.D. as per the numismatic considerations. There are numerous literary references indicating the fact that they flourished long before the 2nd century B.C. They are, however, believed to have left the trace of their name in a sub-caste called *Admerā*. It is just possible that they too might have submitted to the mighty *Mauryas* like the other two tribes namely the *Kuṇindas* and the *Yaudheyas*, of course they might have raised their heads after the fall of the *Mauryas*.

After the death of *Puṣyamitra Śuṅga* there was a troublous period, Northern India was in a welter because of the centrifugal tendencies among the Indian and the foreign in roads.

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[1] DGDAMI, p-13.

[2] Goldstucker quoted by Hall. Viṣṇupurāṇa II, 188.

[3] Dasgupta. K.K., 'The Audumbaras', p-5.

[4] Mahābhāṣya (Nirṇaya Sāgar Press), IV.

Somehow the Audumbaras, along with the others succeeded in maintaining themselves, both diplomatically and militarily. This was their hard struggle for existence but this lacks elaborate details. There is hardly any solid basis to believe that the Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas and others were subjugated by *Menander*, rather it has been established that this concept is baseless.

The Audumbaras seem to have merged with other tribes or dwindled in importance as they have left no independent coinage in the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. which can be attributed to them. Numismatic and other sources definitely establish their independent existence in the earlier periods. The absence of their name in the Allahabad pillar inscription of *Samudragupta* also supports the above conclusion.

The Audumbaras have been referred to in the *Gaṇapātha* of *Pāṇini*.[1] This is perhaps the earliest reference of this tribe in literature. They have been classified in this book as the *Rājanya* class of people. As it is generally believed that *Pāṇini* lived in the 5th century B.C.,[2] it can be safely inferred that a portion of this work (if not whole) was composed by *Pāṇini* and hence, the tribe had its existence in the 5th century B.C.

But this *Gaṇapātha* does not inform us whether the *Udumbaras* had an independent state when the *Gaṇapātha* was composed.[3] When we consider the historiographers of *Alexander* we find that *Arrian*[4] describes that after the defeat of *Porus*, *Alexander* came across a great number of independent peoples who awaited him under the wall of *Sangala* (*Sākala*). *Porus* and *Abisares* could not succeed in establishing their hegemony over the people of the upper Indus, and Punjab was divided into several small states. It is apparent that among these independent populations, undoubtedly, the Udumbaras also had their existence.

The Audumbara coins found in the *Pathankot* area resemble in style with the hemidrachms of *Apollodotus*—the Greek prince, and are found together. Their date can, therefore, be fixed to C.100 B.C. Besides this, a similarity of style can also

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1. Rājanyādibhyo buñ : IV.2.53.
2. Belvalkar, S.K., 'Systems of Sanskrit Grammar', p-24.
3. Przyluski, J., 'Ancient Peoples of the P njab', p-12.
4. Arrian, Book-V, Ch-V.

be observed between the Audumbara coins given in CAI, pl-IV-1 and one of *Azilises* in Num. Chronicle (1890, pl-x, 5a).[1]

Arrian in his *Indica*[2] refers to a people called *Kambistholi* dwelling on the *Hydraotes* or *Rāvī*, who may be identified with the *Kapisthalas* of the Bṛhatasaṁhitā.

Besides the *Gaṇapātha*, the following literary texts also contain references to the Audumbaras :—

1. The Mahābhāṣya of Pātañjali.[3]
2. The Mahābhārata.[4]
3. The Harivaṁśa.[5]
4. The Purāṇas.[6]
5. The Bṛhatasaṁhitā.[7]
6. The Chandravyākaraṇa.[8]
7. The Kāśikā.[9]
8. The Vaijayantī.[10]
9. Gaṇaratnamahodadhi.[11]
10. Sarasvatikaṇtha-bharana.[12]
11. The Saṁkshiptasāra.[13]
12. The Ṛgveda.[14]

We cannot, of course, rule out the possibility of the existence of the Audumbaras, even before the 5th century B.C. The *Chandravyākaraṇa* was composed by a Buddhist scholar named *Chandragomin* who is believed to belong to the 5th century A.D. Belvalkar[15] gives his exact date to be A.D. 470

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[1] Rapson, E.J., 'Indian Coins' (1897), VI, p-13; 'Ancient India' (Cambridge—1914).

[2] Arrian, 'Indica', Ch-IV.

[3] Nyakshatriyārshanito yūni lugninoh : II.4.58.

[4] Mbh., Sabhāparva, Ch-50, Verse-13.

[5] Verse-1466 (Asiatic Society Ed), Ānandaśrama Ed, 96, Venkateśvar Ed, 68-73.

[6] Vāyu, 91-98; Brahmāṇḍa, III. 66.70; Mārkaṇḍeya, 58, 10, Bhāgavata, III.12, 43.

[7] XIV verse-2,3 & 4.

[8] II.4.104, p-168 (K.C. Chatterji's Ed).

[9] IV-1. 173, p-121 (Damodar Śāstrī's Ed).

[10] Bhūmikāṇḍa, Verse-39.

[11] IV-266, p-314 (Eggeling's Ed).

[12] I.VI.76 and IV.1.86, pp-122 & 133 (T.R. Chintāmaṇi's Ed).

[13] Taddhitapada Section 233 (Gurunātha Vidyānidhi's Ed), p-46.

[14] III, 33.5.

[15] Belvalkar, S.K., Op. Cit., p-24.

but S.K. Dey[1] considers *Chandragomin* to have flourished in the 6th century A.D.

The fact that the Audumbaras were a section of the *Sālvas*, has also been confirmed by Chandragomin in his work *Vṛtti* on *Pāṇini's Aṣṭadhyāyī.* In a verse he says :—

"*Udumbarāṣ-Tilakhalā-Madrakārā-Yugandharāḥ,*
Bhuliṅgāḥ Śaradaṇḍās-cha Sālvāvayāva Saṁjñitāḥ."

The English translation of the above verse is as follows :—

"*Udumbarā*, *Tilakhalā*, *Madrakāra*, *Yugandhāra*, *Bhulinga* and *Śaradaṇḍā* – these are the sections of the *Sālvas*.

Kāśikā[2] (work of the 7th century A.D.) and *Vaijayantī*[3] (work of the 12th century A.D.), also support this view. Mention of *Sālvas* has been made in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[4] a work of the 8th century B.C.

"*Vadadvai mahidabhakarma samappasyata mamaiva prajā sallvanāṁrajanoh bhavisyanmama brāhmaṇo mamavvaiśya yattu mahetavatkarmaṇah samāpitena mahubhayathā sallvānprajāttrekshata iti sa esa eva śriresha eshohannādah.*"

Eggeling has rendered the above into English, thus :–

(Syāparna once said)—'If this my sacrificial performance be complete, my own race would become the kings (nobles), Brāhmaṇas and the peasants of the Sālvas, but even by that much work which has been completed, my race will surpass the Sālvas in both ways ; for this (Agni -- the fire-altar) indeed is (social) eminence and fame and eater of food.'[5]

Thus the existence of the *Sālvas* is established in the 8th century B.C. They were very powerful. It appears from this verse that they must have come into prominence gradually and would have existed long before the 8th century B.C. i.e., during the Vedic period also.

A conclusion can again be drawn from the above discussion that there existed many constituent sections of the Sālvas. Audumbaras were one among them and they all existed at the same time.

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[1] History of Bengal, Vol-I, p-296 ff (Edited by R.C. Majumdar).

[2] IV.1.173, p-121 (Dāmodar Śāstrī's Ed).

[3] Bhūmikāṇḍa, Verse-39, IHQ Vol-XX pp-219-26 & OH, Vol-VII, Pt-I, p-2.

[4] Śatapatha Br. (SBE, Vol-XLIII), X, 4.1.10, p-344.

[5] Dasgupta, K.K., Op. Cit., p-4.

Pliny has mentioned this tribe as '*Odomboeres*'.[1] The *Vinayapiṭaka*[2] and the *Mahāmāyurī*,[3] refer to a place called *Udumbara* which was named after this tribe. Cunningham has also considered it to be probable that it must be the name of the town or district. He has quoted the examples of the names of towns and districts having been put on the coins. Names like '*Yaudheya*', '*Śibi*, '*Ujeniya*' and '*Mālavana*' have appeared on coins, which definitely refer to places.

From the quotation of *Varāhamihira* and from references in the Purāṇas and elsewhere, it is evident that the Audumbaras were well-known before the Muhammedan invasion. There is hardly any trace of this name in the descriptions of the historians of Alexander. *Abu Rihan* has mentioned *Dahmala* as the capital of *Jalandhar*.[4] From this, we can infer that the district might have been annexed by some powerful neighbour of either *Traigartha* or *Kangra*.

From that time, till the reign of *Akbar*, we find no mention of this district, either as *Audumbara* or as *Pathaniya*. The facts that Rājā *Bakhtmall* of *Paithan*, an ally of *Sikandar Sur*, opposed the Moghul-army at *Mankot*, was taken prisoner and was barbarously executed by *Bairamkhan* in AH-965 (AD-1558) give us some proof to understand that the tribe continued to exist as a small chiefship as the Rājās traced their descent from the Audumbaras for about 20 generations (till the time of Akbar's accession).

2. FORM OF GOVERNMENT

So far as the form of government of the *Audumbaras* is concerned, nothing can be said with certainty. *Jayaswal* thinks that the tribe was republican one, and had an elective king.[5] Here, the legend with the word '*Raña*' must be considered :—

'*Mahadevasa raña Sivadasasa Odubarisa*.'

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[1] Historia Naturalis, VI, Sec-75.

[2] II.299. (Reference of a village named Udumbara has been made in the text.)

[3] Edited by Levi, S., JA (1915), p-44.

[4] Elliot's 'Muhammedan' Historians' by Dowson, Vol-I, p-62. Cf. ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-117.

[5] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., pp-153-54.

It may mean that *Śivadāsa* has assumed the leadership of the tribe, but the difficulty in explanation in this case, is about the significance of the word '*Mahādeva*'. *Allan* takes the word 'Mahādeva' as a regal title and at the same time he does not rule out the possibility of its having been the name of a ruler specially in the light of the fact that we have a silver coin bearing this word.[1]

P.L. Gupta considers the word '*Mahādeva*' and opines that it could not have been used by a tribal-leader.[2] And as such, it must not have been used in the sense of a regal title. He further argues that the presence of the figures of a temple and a trident (peculiar to Śiva), reveals that the word '*Mahādeva*' must have been used for Lord Śiva himself.[3]

And then, we see that according to the above discussion, the coin of *Śivadāsa* shows that the coin belongs to God Śiva, to king *Śivadāsa* (or others) and to the tribe Audumbaras—and as per his opinion, the interpretation is further supported by the legend—'*Bhāgavata Mahadevasa*'.

The legends in *Kharoṣthī* and *Brāhmī*, inscribed on the coins of the Audumbaras, shed sufficient light about the form of government :—

1. Mahadevasa Raña *Śivadasasa* Oduṁbarisa.
2. Mahadevasa Raña *Rudradasasa* Oduṁbarisa.
3. Mahadevasa Raña *Dharaghoṣasa* Oduṁbarisa.
4. Bhāgavata *Mahadevasa* Rāja-Raña Oduṁbarisa.

Although, no mention has been made in the above legends, about the form of their governments—whether it was a *Gaṇa* or a *Janapada*, it is evident from the same, that the name of a person along with the name of the tribe has been embossed. It appears that in this period a person had won over the sovereignty of the whole tribe and had assumed the title—*Rājā*, which is found for the first time used among the Indian rulers. It is just likely that they adopted this title as a result of the influence of the Greek invaders and probably they did not mean—'King', in the strict sense of the term, but had applied it to their leaders.

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[1] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-lxxxiii.

[2] IHQ, Vol-XXVII, No. 1 (Mar. 1951), p-204.

[3] Ibid.

The *Audumbara* coins have an additional word '*Mahadevasa*', along with the name of the *Rājā* and the tribe (as we have seen above). It has been taken to be the regal title of the *Audumbara* leaders. But, it is not possible that such high title which is used for god Śiva, might have been used by the leaders of the tribe for themselves. They were definitely devotees of *Śiva* and *Śiva* is represented on their coins with a temple and a trident.[1] And it can be suggested that the word '*Mahādeva*' refers to god Śiva, to king Śivadāsa (or others) and to the tribe—Audumbara. This concept is supported by the coins which bear the legend, 'Bhagavata Mahādevasa Rājaraña' which has been translated as, 'Mahādeva, the worshipper of *Bhāgavata*.'[2] But we find on the coins, the figure of trident (a symbol of Śiva), and thus the issuer cannot be the worshipper of *Bhāgavata*. And it is for this reason that it can be supposed to mean—'Of the Almighty *Mahādeva*, the king of kings.'

Of course, government in the name of any god is not known in any treatise on ancient Indian polity, but, we find in subsequent period, coins issued by the *Yaudheyas* and the *Kuṇindas* in the name of their presiding deities. A tendency of a representative administration in the name of the gods is therefore evident from this. A seal of the 3rd-4th century A.D. from *Bhīṭā* which bears the following inscription seems to indicate that in the ancient times, there might have existed a pious custom, according to which rulers on the occasion of their accession, entrusted their kingdom to their '*Ishṭa-devatā*' and considered themselves as mere agents[3] :—

> '*Śrī Vindhyabed-ha—Mahārājasya maheśvara mahā senātisṛiṣtha rājasya vṛsdhadhvajasya Gautamīputrasya*.'

Sir John Marshall has translated it thus :—

'Of all the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamīputṛa Vṛsadhvaja the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who had made over his kingdom to the great Lord Kārttikeya (Mahāsenā).'

If the above interpretation of '*Mahāsenātiṣristha*' is correct, it shows that administration in the name of gods was not unknown. This practice was current in the *Travancore* and *Cochin* states, till recently. The people were administered by the rulers, in the name of god '*Padmanābhā*'. The *Sisodia Ranas* of *Udaipur* also maintained the tradition of governing in the imaginary capacity of a representative of their favourite ancestral deities.

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[1] JNSI, Vol-IV, p-55.
[2] Allan, J., Op. Cit., 'Intro'. p-LXXXV.
[3] Cunningham, A., ASIAR (1911-12), p-51.

It is clear from the *Vedic* literature that republican form of government was prevalent in ancient India. This has been verified by *Buddhist* literature, *Pāṇini*, *Kauṭilya* and the report of the Greek ambassador *Megasthenes* also. Up to the time of *Chandragupta Maurya*, they appear to be in existence. *Chandragupta Maurya* subdued them and annexed many of them in his empire. These republican states started raising their heads after about 50 years of the death of *Aśoka*. Some of them came to power again. We can, therefore, infer that after the death of *Puṣyamitra* they exerted their existence again as there was no such powerful hand to overrule them anymore. Many republics came into prominence in the *Punjab* and north-western India. The *Audumbaras* was one of such republics.

The bi-scriptual coins of the *Audumbaras* can be assigned to the 1st century B.C. They bear proof (already discussed) that their chiefs of the tribal assembly were designated as '*Mahādeva*', unlike the *Kuṇindas*. Of course, the tradition of some of the ancient Indian tribal republics, about styling of all the members of their central assembly as '*Rājās*', is known to us.[1]

This Audumbara-legend shows that *Mahādeva* (here) is the counterpart of *Mahārāja*. It can possibly mean the members of the *Audumbara* Central Assembly. They used to be called '*Devas*' instead of *Rājās*', as the meaning of the word '*Deva*' is '*Rājā*' also.[2]

Cunningham took the fourth Audumbara ruler, *Mahādeva*, to be a king of the tribe and he read the legend—'*Bhāgavata Mahādevasa Rāja-Rājā*', both on the obverse and the reverse with slight changes.[3] On the other hand, Allan[4] considers '*Bhāgavata Mahādevasa*' to stand for '*Bhāgavaṭa Mahādevasya*' meaning '*Mahādeva, the worshipper of Bhagāvata*'. Although the words—'*Rajarañā*' or '*Rājārāja*' stand for 'king of kings'

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[1] Altekar, A.S., 'State and Government in Ancient India', p-114.

[2] Monier-Williams, 'A Saṅskrit-English Dictionary' (1963), p-492. Cf. also Apte, V.S., Pract. Sanskrit-English Dict. (1965), p-509.

[3] Cunningham, A., CAI, p-68.

[4] Allan, J., Op. Cit., LXXXV.

They do not actually mean it. They have been used simply to express the elevated position of the person. *Chakrabortty*[1] also thinks that the word '*Mahādeva*' does not stand to denote a king. He had deciphered the whole legend under reference, to mean :—

> 'In the name of the almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings.'[2]

After a thorough examination of the legends of a few silver and copper coins of this tribe bearing 'Mahādeva' legends, K.K. Dasgupta[3] suggests that coins were issued by the Audumbara chief named Mahādeva who was regarded as the personification of the deity having the same name and as such he did not act as the regent of the God rather he was the god himself (of the legends Bhāgavata Mahādevasa and Rājārañа or Rājāraja). The Audumbara chief Mahādeva was identified with the god Mahādeva whom he worshipped probably in common with the people of the tribe. This may not have effected the basic change in the form of government, which was not a theocracy, although he admits that the chief 'Mahādeva' was arrogating himself to the position of, more or less, overlord rather than a tribal chief. Based on this recent study, Dasgupta now rejects the view of P.L. Gupta[4] which he had accepted previously.

On the basis of existing evidence, it can be said, that after the ruling chiefs of the Audumbara tribe, there came a period when the dynasty begot a lineage, who favoured a monarchical form of government. It is just possible that the popularly believed Mitra kings might have been responsible for the downfall of the republican form of government of the Audumbaras. On careful examination of the numismatics of the two tribes, we find that the lineage of the second group, namely the Mitras followed the former (the Audumbaras) almost chronologically. There existed a slight similarity, both in type and legends found on the coins of both the tribes, which gives a clear idea of the continuation of certain numismatic traditions and intercourse. A reflection of this can be found in bi-scriptual nature of the coins of the Mitras and the Audumbaras.

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1. Chakrabortty, S.K., AIN, p-161.
2. Ibid, p-162.
3. JNSI, Vol. XXXII (1970), Part-II, p-150 ff.
4. Op. Cit., p-23.

K.P. Jayaswal[1] infers from the study of the coins of the tribe that the Audumbaras (if a republic) had elective kings. They struck coins in the name of the community and kings, styled—'*His Exalted Majesty*' (e.g. Mahādevasa Raña Dharaghoshasa Oduṁbarisa). The figure of the tall building with standing roof can be considered to be their 'Mote-hall' or some other important public building, or the figure of their standard. Cunningham was mistaken in considering this to be a *Dharmachakra*'.

B.C. Law[2] considers the Audumbaras to be a minor Oligarchical or Republican tribe. The *Harivaṁśa* refers to certain ascetics, descendants of Viśvāmitra as Audumbaras but it is difficult to determine their exact relation with the tribe of *Sabhāparva.*

In the case of the coinage of Dharaghosha, Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa, we invariably find the names of tribes associated with that of the king. There are some Audumbara coins which do contain the mention of the name of the tribe along with the name of the chief, while there are some containing on them only the names of the rulers. The omission of the name of the tribe may mean the change in condition. It is apparent that so long as greater importance used to be attached to the tribal character of the constitution, the name of the tribe was coupled on the coins with the name of the rulers, but, later on with the advent and augmentation of the royal authority, the rulers started omitting the name of their tribe.[3]

3. EXTENT OF TERRITORY

Udumbara, Tilakhalā, Madrakāra, Yugandharā, Bhuliṅga and Śaradaṇḍā, all appear to belong to the '*Sāḷva*' group, as per the following :—

'Udumbarās Tilakhalā Madrakārā Yugandharāḥ Bhuliṅgāḥ
Śāradaṇḍāśca Sālvāvayavasaṁjñitāḥ'.[4]

A mention has been made in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] that the messengers sent by *Guru Vaśiṣtha* to recall *Bharata* from the

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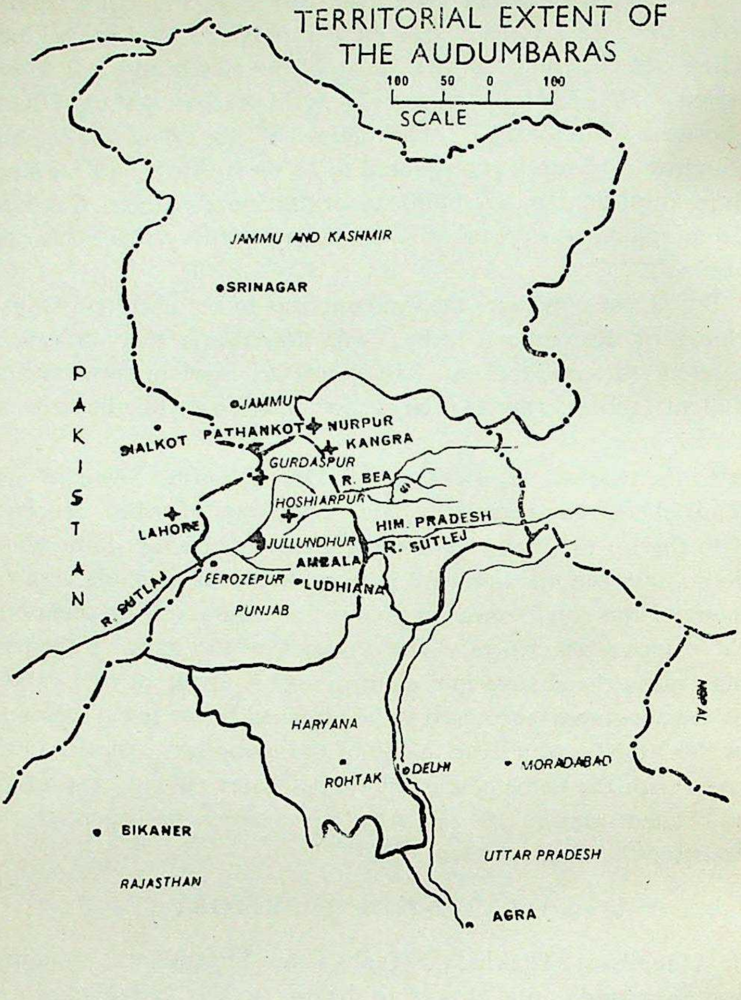
1. HP, p-159.
2. 'Tribes in Ancient India', p-355.
3. JBORS, Vol-XX (1934), p-168.
4. Chandravṛtti on Chandra, II.4.103 (K.C. Chaterji's Ed), p-168.
5. Bengali Edition, II.70.15.


TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE AUDUMBARAS
100 50 0 100
SCALE
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
PAKISTAN
JAMMU
SIALKOT
PATHANKOT
NURPUR
KANGRA
GURDASPUR
R. BEAS
HOSHIARPUR
LAHORE
JULLUNDHUR
HIM. PRADESH
R. SUTLEJ
AMBALA
FEROZEPUR
LUDHIANA
R. SUTLAJ
PUNJAB
NEPAL
HARYANA
ROHTAK
DELHI
MORADABAD
BIKANER
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
AGRA

Alexander Cunningham, E.J. Rapson, Gaṇapati Śāstrī, H.M. Elliot, K.P. Jayaswal and K.K. Dasgupta differ in their opinion about the territorial extent of the Audumbaras. Hindu scriptures too give a very divergent view about it. It is therefore very difficult to demarcate the area occupied by this tribe.

Anyhow important places connected with the tribe, references of which have been given by the above scholars, have been prominently marked with star marks.

Readers can themselves imagine and consider about the area of their influence.

land of *Kekaya*, crossed the river *Sarasvatī* then the river *Śaradaṇḍā* and afterwards entered the city of *Bhuliṅga*. The river and the city which the messengers first saw after entering the Punjab from the south-east, bear precisely the names of two 'Sālva' tribes—the Śaradaṇḍās and the Bhuliṅgas. *Jīvika* also, preceeding from the north-west arrives in the Punjab and his itinerary mentions *Bhadrakāra* (of the ethnic[1] Bhadrakara) and *Udumbara*. It seems therefore that the tribes of the Sālva group designated a people living together as neighbouring tribes and thus, the territory of the Audumbaras appears to be the area lying in-between the rivers *Rāvī* and *Sutlej* of today.

The Mahābhārata states the Audumbaras along with the *Durvavibhāgas*, the *Pārdās*, the *Bāhlikas* etc., the other contemporary tribes. As the Durvavibhāgas, the Pārdās and the Bāhlikas were all inhabitants of the north and the north-western corner of India, it can be concluded that the Audumbaras also had their existence in that area only.

They have been mentioned by *Pliny* under the name '*Odombeores*'.[2] The *Mahāmāyurī*.[3] also refers to a place called *Udumbara* which is the name of a tribe as well. This statement about the identity of the tribes and the locality in which they lived can be confirmed with examples of the *Yaudheyas*, the *Śibis*, the *Ujeniyas* and the *Mālvanas* also.[4]

On the basis of the provenance of their coins, Allan has located the Audumbaras in the area formed by 'the valley of *Beas* or perhaps the wider regions between the upper *Sutlej* and the *Rāvī*.'[5]

Varāhamihira has placed them in the Madhyadeśa along with the *Kāpisthalas* and the *Gajahvayas*. His *Bṛhatasaṁitā*[6] contains the mention of the Audumbaras in the north-west with the Kāpisthalas.

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[1] Mbh., Sabhāparva, chap-50, Verse-13.
[2] Nat. Hist., V-17.
[3] JA, 9(1915) Pt-I, p-14 and 94 ff.
[4] Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-V, pp-154-55.
[5] BMCAI, p-LXXXVII.
[6] Ch-XIV, Verse-2,3 & 4.

भद्रारिमेदमाण्डव्य साल्वनीपोज्जिहान संख्याना: ।
मरुवत्सघोषयामुन सारस्वत मत्स्यमाध्यमिका: ।।२।।
माथरकोपज्योतिषधर्मारण्या निशूरसेनाश्च ।
गौरग्रीवोद्दे हिक पाण्डुगुडाश्वत्थ पांचाला: ।।३।
साकेतकङ् कुरुकाल कोटिकुकुराश्चपारियात्र नग: ।
औदुम्बर कापिष्ठल गजाङ् कयाश्चेतिमध्यमिदका ।।४।।

The mouth of the river *Indus* has been considered to be the area occupied by the *Odombeores* or *Odonbeores* by *Pliny*.[1] But he accepts that these two tribes were quite different from those who issued coins, and were not the *Udumbaras* who have been mentioned in the *Bṛhatasaṁhitā*.

Cunningham and others located the Odombeores of Pliny in *Kachchha* or *Cutch* region, while Jayaswal asserts that they have left their descendants in the enjoyment of their name - the modern community of *Gujarati Brahmiṇs* of the Audumbara caste.[2]

The Audumbaras can therefore be located in the area formed by the eastern part of the *Kangra*, *Gurdaspur* and *Hoshiarpur* districts. In other words, they occupied the valley of the river Beas and probably the wider regions between the upper Sutlej and the Rāvī. And thus suggets the provenance of their coins also. P.L. Gupta also suggests that the Audumbaras should be located in the area formed by the eastern pari of the modern Kangra, Gurdasur and Hoshiarpur districts.

The ancient name of *Nurpur* was *Dhameri* or *Dahmbeori* which is a derivative form of Audumbara. Cunningham thinks that it was re-named Nurpur by *Jahangir* after the name of his beloved queen, *Noorjahan*.[4] The old fort of *Damala* was captured by *Ibrahim Gazanavi*.[5] This territory of the Audumbaras is located near present Kangra and the *Kunet* districts. The names are still prevalent between the rivers Rāvī and Beas and comprise of the forts of *Pathankot* and Nurpur[6] (or *Dumari*).

E. J. *Rapson*,[7] on the other hand asserts that Damari or Dahmari is more allied to *Damara*. This Damara occurs with Kulūṭa and other places in the account of north-eastern divisions of India as found in the *Bṛhatasaṁhitā*.

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1. Nat. Hist, - VI, Sec-75.
2. Jayaswal, K. P., op. cit., p-160.
3. IHQ, Vol-XXVII No. 1 (Mar-1915), p-205.
4. Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-V, p-155; CAI, p-66.
5. Rashid-Ud-Din, H M Elliot, i 62.
6. Cunningham, A., CAI, p-66.
7. Rapson, E J., JRAS (1900), p-540.

At another place Cunningham suggests that Udumbara is one of the names of Silver. He draws an inference that the name Audumbara may refer to the prevailing red colour of the hilly districts of Nurpur.[1] But K.K. Dasgupta does not accept the above suggestion and argues that 'the other tracts where Audumbara coins have been found are not of red colour.'[2]

The *Purāṇas*[3] mention a people named Udumbaras along with the *Kapingalas*, the *Kuruvyahas* and the *Gajahvyasa*. The Gajahvyasas were connected with *Hastinapur* which was the capital of the *Kurus*. The Kuruvyahas also appear to have some connection with the famous Kuru people. From this reference it can be reasonably assumed that the Udumbaras (presumably identical with the Audumbaras) might have occupied an area contiguous with or situated in the proximity of the Kuru country.

It is interesting to note that the Mahābhārata[4] mentions at another place about the tribe called *Vaiyamakas* along with the *Darvas*, the *Audumbaras*, the *Kaśmiras*, the *Trigarttas* and other north-Indian tribes. The passage of the Mahābhārata which mentions these tribes, runs as follows :—

कैराता-दरदा-दर्वा, यूरा वैयायकास्तथा ।
औदुम्बरा-दुर्विभागाः पारदा वाह्लिकैः सह ॥
काश्मीराश्च कुमाराश्च घोरका-हंसकायनाः ।
शिवि त्रिगर्तन्यौधेया राजन्यामद्रकैकयाः ॥
अम्बष्ठाः कौकुरास्ताक्ष्या-वस्त्रपाः पह्लवैसह ।
वशातयाश्चमौलेर्याः सह क्षुद्रकमालवैः ॥
पौण्ड्रकाः कुक्कुराश्चैव शकाश्चैव विशायते ।
अग्गावङ्‌गाश्च पुण्ड्राश्च शाणावत्यागयास्तथा ॥

There is an enumeration of the various tribes that brought tributes to *Yudhishthira*. The *Vaimakas* can be identified with *Vemaka*, which is probably the *Prakṛt* form of *Vaiyamaka* who have been quoted along with the Audumbaras. This fact suggests that they were neighbours. The association of the Vaiyamakas with the Audumbaras becomes more interesting when we get the confirmation of the same from the evidence of their coin-finds and coin-types.

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[1] Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-V, p-155.

[2] Dasgupta, K.K., op. cit., p-6.

[3] Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, LVIII. 9.

[4] (Sabhaparva, Ch-52. 11. 13-16; See also Sorensen's Index to names in the Mahabharata, II. p-705).

The district itself which gave its title to the *Rājā*, was named *Pathana*, a Hindu name derived from '*Paithana*' which is the spoken form of '*Pratiṣthāna*'. This is identified with *Ptolemy's* '*Batanagara*'.[1] In later history, we know about *Chota*, a relative of the Rājā, who held *Dahmari* against the General of Akbar in A.D. 1573. And in A.D. 1594, Vaśudeva, a zamindāra (Rājā) of Man and Pathana, rebelled against Akbar.[2]

Pathankot was, as it is today, a very favourable mart for the interchange of produce between the hills and the plains. It is situated in the middle of a narrow neck of land about 16 miles in width which divides the valleys of the rivers Beas and Rāvī, where the two rivers come to almost plains leaving their mountain-stage. It became a great emporium as it joined *Kangra* and *Chamb* in the hills and the two great cities of *Lahore* (now in Pakistan) and *Jalandhar* (modern Jullundur) in the plains.[3] It was therefore selected to be the seat of the kingdom of the Audumbaras.

It was this Pathankot (name of the place), from which the Rājās derived their titles of *Pathania*. This name has been mentioned elsewhere as '*Paithan*' also, and is actually quite unconnected with the Pathans of *Roh*. It is supposed to be an abbreviated form of the Saṅskrit word '*Pratiṣthāna*' which means a firmly established place. In significance, it can be related to the *Paithan* situated on the bank of the river *Godāvarī*, about 30 miles east of *Aurangabad* (*Maharashtra*), a sacred place for the Hindus who perform the last religious rites (*Śrāddha*) of their forefathers and the dead here, as the Hindus of north-India do at Gaya (Bihar).

The Harivaṁśa[4] mentions a river *Udumbarāvatī* in the south while the *Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa*[5] mentions a city named Udumbara in the Magadha Janapada (Magadam Janapadam

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1. Elliot, H. M. V-357.
2. Cunningham, A., CAI, p-66.
3. ASIAR, Vol-V, p-153.
4 CLXVIII, 9511.
5. Gaṇapati Sāstri's Ed p-633.

prspyapure Udumbarahvaye). It appears that the name of the river as also the name of the city given above, have definitely some connection with the Audumbaras.

The Pāñchāla rulers are known to have struck a mono-scriptual coin. The successors of the Audumbaras continued to strike a bi-scriptual money like their predecessors. It will be too far-fetched to think that Bhānumitra of Pāñchāla held a part of the former Audumbara territory and issued coins for circulation in that area in accordance with his own numismatic traditions. Had this been the case, Bhānumitra's coins must have come to light from the areas lying in-between. But it is not so, and so we have reason to understand that he did not conquer and annex any part of Punjab. The fact that we come across certain coins of a Punjabi Bhānumitra with Pāñchāla symbol (a rayed disc on reverse), embossed on them, should not be mistaken to mean the seizure of Punjab-territory belonging to the Audumbaras. Bhānumitra of Punjab might have borrowed this type from the Pāñchāla king of the same name and would have utilised the type without any alteration.[1]

Varāhamihira places the Audumbaras in the company of the Kāpisthalas (as we have seen before), who are a twin associate of the *Kathas* in *Pātañjali*. They were somewhere between Kangra and Ambala. A branch of theirs seems to have migrated to Cutch as Pliny locates the Odombeores there.[2]

The *Gaṇapātha* on Pāṇini II.5.3., places the Audumbaras near the people of Jalandhara. This Jalandhara is a place which got support from the find-spots of the coinage of the tribe.

Cunningham's silver-coin of the Audumbaras was found in Pathankot district and his seven copper coins of the same tribe were all found at Pathankot itself. According to V.A. Smith, Audumbara coins are found mainly in the Kangra and the Hoshiarpur districts of Punjab. We have seen that the Vemaka coins of King Rudravarmā also came from the Kangra district. The two tribes, the Vemakas and the Audumbaras would thus appear to have dwelt in the same region (probably adjacent to each other) in the eastern Punjab. This inference has a further support of the coin-types. A very close resemblance between

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1. JNSI, Vol-XXVII (1965), Pt-II, p-131.
2. Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-159.

the types of Rudravarmā, the Vemakī and those of Mahādeva of the Audumbara series, has been noticed by Allan. This resemblance suggests that the mints and the districts of circulation were in close proximity. Rapson has also pointed out that Indian coin-types are predominantly local in character.[1]

The find-spots of the coins and their references in the Bṛhatasaṁhitā as also the work of Pliny assert that there were 3 Audumbara countries :—

1. One situated in the north-western Punjab.
2. The other situated in the north-eastern Punjab.
3. The third in Cutch.[2]

Audumbara was the ancient name of the peninsula of Kuchchha also, but the coins must not have belonged to that country, as they have been found only at Pathankot in the north-western Punjab. The *Odonbeores* dwelling on the mouth of river Indus, as Pliny describes, must have been these Audumbaras of Kuchchha.[3] But, as the name is derived from the word Udumbara, meaning fig-tree (Ficus Glometra), it may denote any country abounding in these trees.[4]

Cunningham[5] asserts that there existed yet another country of the same name (as mentioned in the Bṛhatasaṁhitā), situated in the north-west along with the Kambistholi of *Arrian*[6] who dwelt on the *Hydraotes* (Rāvī).

From the above it can be surmised that all these tracts belonged to the same stock, but they might have migrated to the three areas mentioned above, in probably three different periods of history.

Before arriving at *Agroda* (*ka*), *Tche Mang*, coming from Sākala, passed through *P'o-tch'a-na-kie*. This transcription presupposes an original, such as *Batanagara* or *Bathanagara*. Cunningham mentions that in 1594, in the ancient land of the Udumbaras, *Vāśudeva Zamindāra* (Rājā) of *Man* and *Pathan* rose in rebellion against Akbar.[1] The local Rājā took his title from the name of the district of Pathan. The same name appears today as Pathankot. It is here, that numerous coins of the Audumbaras have been found. Cunningham proposed to identify Pathan or Pathana with Batanagara, of Ptolemy—*P'o-tch'a na-kie* of the itinerary of *Che Mang*, appears to be copied from the same original, which Ptolemy reproduced. And thus, we see that the country of the Udumbaras must have been precisely situated between *Sākala* and *Agrodaka*.

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[1] Rapson, E.J., CICAD, p-XI.

[2] Lassen, 'India Art Map', Cunningham, ASIAR, Vol-XIV, pp-115 & 135.

[3] Nat. Hist., Vol-VI, p-23.

[4] Goldstucker, quoted by Hall in Viṣṇupurāṇa, Vol-II, p-188.

[5] ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-136.

[6] Arrian, 'Indica', Ch-IV.

From the consideration of provenance, Cunningham had classed the coin, which is now proved to have been struck by the *Kulūṭa* king *Vīrayasa*, among those of the Audumbaras. The fact is interesting as tending to show that the territories of the two peoples (the Kulūṭas and the Audumbaras) were not widely separated.[2]

4. COINAGE

The coins of the Audumbaras were just like those of the *Arjunāyanas* and other classes of contemporary Indian coins. They were struck in the name of the community and the King.[3] These coins, according to Chakrabortty,[4] date from the 1st century B.C. and have legends in both Kharoṣthī and Brāhmī. Jayaswal asserts that the Kharoṣthī script indicates the time near about 100 B.C., and they came under the influence of the *Satrapas* like their neighbours of the Punjab and were finally absorbed.[5] These coins resemble in every respect, the hemi-drachms of the Greek prince *Apollodotūs* and are found together with them. Rapson affirms that there is a great similarity in style between *Viśvāmitra*-type and those of *Azilises*.[6]

The Audumbara coins are very rare. They have been found in Kangra and Hoshiarpur districts of the Punjab.[7] On the basis of their metals and their shape,[8] they fall under three distinct groups :—

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1. Cunningham, A., Op. Cit., p-67.
2. Rapson E.J., JRAS (1900), p-540.
3. Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-159.
4. Chakrabortty, S.K., Op. Cit., p-159.
5. Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-159.
6. Rapson, E.J., IC, p-11.
7. Smith, V.A., Op. Cit., p-160.
8. Cunningham, A., CAI, p-66, pl-IV, ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-116.

1. Square copper coins,
2. Circular silver coins, and
3. Circular copper coins.

1. The Square Copper Coins

The Copper coins which are square in shape, bear on them the names of the following 4 kings :—

1. Śivadāsa,
2. Rudradāsa,
3. Dharaghoṣa, and
4. Mahādeva.

All these kings had in their issues maintained similar obverse and reverse types. There is uniformity in the character of legends which differ from each other in so far as the mention of the names of the rulers responsible for issuing them is concerned. There is no difference in views about the identity of Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghoṣa. But there is a lot of difference of opinion about the fourth, i.e., Mahādeva. In all these types of coins, we find Mahadevasa and *Raña* preceding the names of the issuers of the coins and then after their personal names the word – *Odu*(*ṁ*)*barisa*,[1] is also found, which is nothing but the name of the tribe. The numismatists are agreed that *Mahadevasa* signifies the '*Exalted Majesty*', appearing invariably on all the coins of this class along with the title—'*Raña*'. On the fourth, however, there is no mention of a particular name except the exalted majesty, king and the tribe i.e. *Mahādeva raña odu* (*ṁ* (*barisa*).[3]

On typological grounds like common motifs of Bull, Elephant, Lotus and Trident etc., there has been a recent suggestion that the coins are attributed to the Vaiṃakis instead of the Audumbaras. But the absence of epithets like Rājarājā and Bhāgavata which occur on the coins of Vemaka chief Rudravarmā, has not been considered. The attribution of these coins to the Vemakas has therefore been rejected by P.L. Gupta [4]

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[1] Allan, J., Op. Cit.

[2] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-159.

[3] Allan, J., Op. Cit.

[4] JNSI, Vol-XXXII (1970), Pt-II, p-152.

One school of numismatists suggests that the particular names of the issuers has been left out,[1] as the name of the king who issued such coins is conspicuous by its absence. Cunningham, on the other hand. observes that Mahādeva does not mean 'His exalted majesty', as this is the very name of the issuers of the coins.[2] He puts forth his arguments evidently regarding him as identical with a homonymous king who is known to us from some silver pieces.[3]

But this view of Cunningham seems to be erroneous as in that case the print on the coins would have been—'*Mahadevasa raña Mahadevasa Odu (ṁ) barisa*.'[4] Allan says, 'as Mahādeva is also found as a regal title on these coins, it is possible that some of the specimens attributed to him are really incomplete specimens of the coins of other rulers. There is no reason, however, to doubt the existence of a ruler of this name especially as we have also a silver coin bearing it.'[5] Another scholar opines that the first part of Allan's statement applies not to some but to all the coins bearing the legend – '*Mahādeva raña Odu(ṁ)barisa*' and the king Mahādeva known - from certain silver pieces was not an Aubumbara chief.[6] The legends on these coins are of a particular nature and the use of long vowels such as—'a', 'u', 'ai' and 'au' seems to have been avoided, both in Kharoṣthī and in Brāhmī legends, thereby getting Sivadasa, for Śivadāsa, Rudradasa for Rudradāsa, Odu(ṁ)bari for Audumbari and even Mahadevasa for Mahādevasa in Brāhmī.

Obverse

A tree within enclosure on left, forepart of an elephant to left on right, 〰undulating line[7], or a zig-zag line[8] (snake or river ?) or a snake[9] below. Legend in Kharoṣthī is incomplete—Sivadasa.[10]

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[1] JNSI, Vol-XXVI (1964), p-157.
[2] Cunningham, A., CAI, p-68.
[3] Ibid.
[4] JNSI, Vol-XXVI (1964), p-157.
[5] JNSI, Vol-XXVI (1964), p-159.
[6] Dasgupta, K.K., Op. Cit., p-7.
[7] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-122, Dasgupta, K.K., Op. Cit., p-7
[8] Chakrabortty, S.K., Op. Cit., p-160.
[9] Cunningham, A., CAI, p-68, pl-iv, fig-2.
[10] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-122.

Reverse

Pointed roofed temple of two or three storeys with pillars, Svastika to left on pillar, Dharmachakra with pendant garland[1] to right. Legend in Brāhmī—'Odumbarisa Sivadasasa'[2] (some time the word Odumbarisa appears as Odubarasa).[3]

The tree on the obverse has been described by Cunningham[1] as Udumbara fig-tree which is also affirmed by Chakrabortty.[5] There is a difference of opinion among the numismatists about the identification of the structure depicted on the reverse. According to Cunningham, there is a two or three storeyed pointed roofed temple with pillars.[6] R.D. Banerji is also of the same view,[7] while K.P. Jayaswal takes it as the mote-hall of the Aubumbaras or some other public building.[8] Allan describes it as a two-storeyed domed stūpa.[9] A.M. Shastri[10] supports *Sohoni's* view,[11] while Sohoni has based his own view on *Bhāṣa's Pratimā Nāṭaka* and affiirms that outside the temple there were weapons (*Praharaṇas*) or banner (*Dhvaja*) announcing the name of the deity worshipped inside, and suggests that the building in question is a Śiva temple of the type which is still common in the Kulu and the Beas valleys. He further shares the views of Sohoni that along with the building there appear a trident and battle-axe and a dhvaja on right in the field. These tridents etc. as well have been interpreted to be the *tri-ratna* of the *Buddhists*. And as such, he says that there is not the least doubt about it that these Kings were *Śaivas* or the worshippers of *Śiva* and so the symbol—trident was printed on their coins.

From a critical study of all the arguments of the renowned numismatists mentioned above, we find that the arguments

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1. Cunningham, A., Op. Cit., p-68, pl-iv, fig-2.
2. Dasgupta, K.K., Op. Cit., p-7.
3. Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-122.
4. Cunningham, A., Op. Cit, p-68, p-iv, fig-2.
5. Chakrabortty, S. K., Op. Cit., p-160.
6. Cunningham, A., Op. Cit., p-68.
7. JASB (1914), p-247.
8. Jayaswal, K. P., Op. Cit., p-159.
9. Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-122.
10. JNSI, Vol-XXVII, p-89.
11. JNSI, Vol-IV, p-55 ff.

forwarded by S.V. Sohoni appear to be most plausible and also convincing.

The building on the coins is two or three-storeyed, pointed-roofed which is a temple, and as such it has got nothing to do with mote-hall or some other public building, as has been interpreted by Jayaswal. Besides, the appearance of a trident, battle-axe and a dhvaja on right in the field,[1] implies that these were the symbols of religious materials of the worshippers of Śiva which have been interpreted, also as the materials of the Buddhist worshippers and on that ground Sohoni concludes that it must have been a Śaivite temple. He further asserts that the familiarity of the Indians with the early Roman temple-coins through trade, led to the adoption of this type. While commenting on Sohoni's view, Altekar refers to a parallel furnished by *Garuḍadhvaja* in front of the temple of *Vāśudeva* which was erected by *Heliodorus*, the Greek ambassador at *Vidisā* towards the end of the 2nd century B.C., the approximate time of the Audumbara coins. J.N. Banerjea supports the view of Sohoni, and describes the temple as a Śaiva shrine with double domes and mulitple pillars.[2]

Thus, it is most probable that the building represented on the Audumbara coins stands for a shrine. R.D. Banerji, while referring to the coins of the *Irripal*-find poined out that the building appearing on the coins is a three-storeyed one and slightly different in shape from that appearing on Cunningham's coin.[3] In any case, the building may be regarded as one of the earliest representations of a well developed temple-model. *Coomarswamy* describes the building on the Audumbara coins as 'Structural shrines as pavilions.'[1] He refers to the pavilion with a double ornamented plinth, enshrining figures of Skanda, Viśākha and Mahāsenā to be found on a coin of Huviṣka [5] The Audumbara coins are, however, prior to the coins of *Huviṣka*, and so they are important for supplying us with the earliest representations of the ancient temples.

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1. JASB (1914), p-247 ff.
2. CHIS, p-799.
3. JASB (1914), p-248.
4. HIIA, p-45.
5. Ibid., p-48

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2. The Circular Silver Coins

The circular silver coins of the Audumbaras furnish the names of two kings—Mahādeva and Dharaghoṣa. Cunningham, Whitehead, Allan and some others had attributed the unique coin of Rudravarman to the Audumbaras but it cannot be classed with the coins of the Audumbaras as the coin bears the name of the tribe styled—'*Vemka*'. R.C. Kar has correctly attributed the coin to the Vemakas and not to the Audumbaras.[1]

3. The Circular Copper Coins

These circular copper coins have been classed with the coins of the Audumbaras by the later numismatists. They base their classification on the attribution of Cunningham. These coins reveal the names of 4 rulers whose names generally end in '*Mita*', i.e. '*Mitra*' :—

1. Ajamita (Āryamitra),
2. Mahimita (Mahimitra),
3. Bhānumita (Bhānumitra), and
4. Mahābhūtimitra.

The '*Mitra*' group of kings were, as it appears, different from Mahādeva and Dharaghoṣa and the '*Dāsa*' kings—Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa.

These coins of the Mitra kings are of a later period as compared with the period of the other Audumbara kings we have discussed so far.

S.K. Chakrabortty[2] has very thoughtfully divided the coins of the Audumbaras into the following groups according to the types :—

1. The Viśvāmitra type—AR
2. The Elephant and the Temple type—AE
3. The Elephant and the Bull type—AR
4. The Elephant and the Man type—AE
5. The Elephant and Tree symbol type—AE and
6. The Sun and the Tree symbol type—AE

But, after a thorough scrutiny of all the above types of classification we have decided to classify the coins of this tribe according to the names of the chiefs or rulers who issued them. We have taken the help of Allan's catalogue for it. If we go into the detailed and deep study of the coinage of the Audumbaras, we find that it is generally believed that they had the following rulers in their lineage who had issued coins :—

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[1] IHQ, Vol-XX, pp-59-62.

[2] 'A Study Of Ancient Indian Numismatic', pp-158-163.

1. Śivadāsa,
2. Rudradāsa,
3. Mahādeva,
4. Dharaghoṣa,
5. Rudravarman,
6. Mahimitra,
7. Āryamitra,
8. Bhānumitra, and
9. Mahābhūtimitra.

Sometimes, the following names are also attributed to the tribe of the Audumbaras :—

1. Rājā Vīrāyasas,
2. Rājā Vṛṣṇi, and
3. Rājā Ajamitra.

A.M. Shastri[1] has opposed the idea of attributing any other king than—Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghoṣa to the Audumbara lineage.

About King Mahādeva, he says that he finds no reason to believe that he was an Audumbara ruler. He compares his silver coinage with those of Dharaghoṣa (who is definitely an Audumbara King) and finds that although the silver coins of the other Audumbara rulers are not known so far, in view of the uniformity of the copper coins as regards their obverse and reverse types and legends, it is not preposterous to suppose that on their silver coins also they must have followed the same type of legend, of course excepting the ruler's name as in Dharaghoṣa's coins. The Audumbaras were definitely conservatives so far as their coin-legends are concerned. It was a tradition with them to use the title—'Mahādeva' and also the name of the tribe on both copper and silver issues, but for their silver coinage they adopted the figure of Viśvāmitra and trident-axe and Tree in enclosure respectively on obverse and reverse.

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[1] JNSI, Vol-XXVI (1964), Pt-II, pp-157-161.

Shastri further observes that, had Mahādeva belonged to the tribe of the Audumbaras, we could have been justified to use the title of Mahādeva (and mention the tribal name and follow the same type) to give a similar meaning as in the case of the coins of Dharaghoṣa. But he says that the fact is just otherwise. The silver coins of Mahādeva have great difference from that of Dharaghoṣa, both in title and legend as we see from the following :—

Mahādeva's Silver Coins (Allan's illustration)

Obverse

'Humped bull r., lotus flower (?) in front. Kharoṣṭhī legend around—'Bhagavata-Mahadevasa, below Rājarañа'.

Reverse

'Elephant l., trident on l., Brāhmī legend around—'Bhagavata-Mahadevasa' below 'Rajaraja'.

Dharaghoṣa's Silver Coins (Allan's Illustration)

Obverse

'Viśvāmitra standing facing with right hand raised, traces of skin over left arm. Kharoṣṭhī legend in front—Viśpamitra, around Mahadevasa Raña Dharaghoṣasa.'

Reverse

'Trident with axe on right, tree in enclosure on left, legend in Brāhmī around—Mahadevasa rano Dharaghosasa below Odabarisa.'

The main obverse and reverse types, namely the 'Humped Bull' and the 'Elephant' which have been taken from the hemidrachms of Apollodotus, agree closely with Allan's class-2 of the Yaudheya coins, rather than any of the definitely known Audumbara coins.

Rapson[1] published a rare copper coin of Mahādeva which bore the form of a lingam (as Rapson thinks) on the obverse and the Brāhmī legend—'Bhāgavata-Mahādevasa' and standing figure of a male with a trident and a battle-axe combined, in his right hand on the reverse. The title—'Bhāgavata' connects this coin with the Mahādeva's silver issues. In spite of all these, there was nothing which could indicate that he was an Audumbara King.

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[1] JRAS (1900), p-112 ff, pl. 12.

Coins of the Mitra rulers omit the name of the tribe. R.D. Banerji has shown his reluctance in considering them to be of the Audumbara tribe. The Mitra surname attributes them to the Mitra-rulers of Pāñchāla as per the conjecture of P.L. Gupta. He believes that the Mitra Kings were those who succeeded the Audumbaras in the area of the find-spots of this specimen of coins.

But mere omission of the tribal name must not be regarded as a ground for the non-assignment of the Mitra series of coins to the Audumbaras. We are aware of such instances where the tribal coins do not bear the name of the tribe at all and for this, some coins of the Yaudheyas can be quoted as reference.[1] As a matter of fact, the type and fabric of a coin play more important role than the appearance of the name of the tribe for the purpose of assigning them to different tribes.

This omission of the tribal name may occur because of the change in the constitutions of the tribes also. It is just possible that the authority of the rulers who issued them, might have increased to such greater extent that they would have started considering their own names being more important for the legends of the coins. And thus, we see that the attribution of the Mitra coins to either the rulers of *Pāñchāla* or to the *Mitra* dynasty of *Madhyadeśa* cannot be justified on that ground.

Besides the above, a comparative study of the coins of the Mitra rulers of Mathurā, Pāñchāla and the Audumbaras reveal that the respective peculiarities of different series of the local and tribal coins are so well-marked that we cannot attribute them to a single dynasty.[2] Bearing of the surname—'Mitra' was most probably the fashion of the day.[3] Hence the coins of Ajamitra, Mahimitra, Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra are to be attributed without any doubt to the Audumbaras.

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[1] Allan, J., Op. Cit.

[2] JNSI, Vol-XX, p-123.

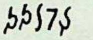
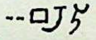
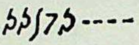
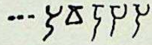
[3] JNSI, Vol-XX, p-128.

Let us forget, for the time being, the controversy about the definite lineage of the Chiefs/Kings and deal with all the coins struck by those who are generally believed to be the Audumbaras.

4. (a) A GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINAGE

As we have seen previously, Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva, Dharaghoṣa, Rudravarmā, Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra, Āryamitra, Mahābhūtimitra, Rājāvīrayasa, Rājā Vṛṣṇī, and Rājā Ajamitra were the twelve rulers of the Audumbara tribe whose coins have been found so far. Description of the coins has been done after dividing them on the basis of these tribal heads who issued them.

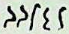
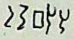
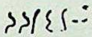
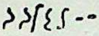
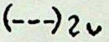
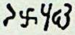
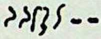
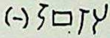
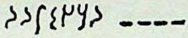
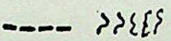
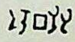
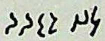
Coins of Śivadāsa

S. No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	45.0	AE .7 Square	Tree within enclosure on l. Forepart of elephant to l. on r. undulating line below  ......S (i) Vadasasa	Two storeyed domed stūpa, trident with axe on r.  —[bar (a) sa]
2.	33.0	As above	—as above— 	—as above—  (Sivadasasa)

The provenance of the coins of this variety (in the collection of the British Museum, London) is not known. As per Cunningham's report some of the coins of this variety were obtained at Pathankot. BMCAI, p-122, pl-XVI-1 and SCCIM, Vol-I p-49, No. 1 can be referred to as specimen.

The trident appearing on the reverse has been wrongly described by Śrī Bidyābinod as plough. He has also wrongly considered the reverse to be obverse and vice-versa.

Coins of Rudradāsa

S.No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	36.8	.65 × .5	Tree within enclosure on l. forepart of elephant to l. on right undulating line below  (Rudradasa)	Two storeyed domed stūpa. Trident with axe on r.  (Odubarisa)
2.	46.0	.65 × .4	—same— 	—same—
3.	36.0	.65	—same— 	—same—
4.	40.0	.65	 (maha)  (Odubarisa)	—same—
5.	35.0	.7		
6.	31.0	.7	 (... sa raña Rudradasasa)	—same—
7.	33.0	AE Square .7	—same—  (—)	—same— 
8.	48.0	.65	—same—	—same—
9.	45.0	.65		—same—

Coins under serial Nos. 5 to 9 were found at Irripal in the Kangra district of Punjab in the year—1913. BMCAI, p-122, pl-XV-2, 4, 10, p-123 pl-XVI, 3 can be referred to as specimen. JASB (1914), 'Numismatic Supplement', XXII, p-250 and SCCIM, p-49, No. 3, 4, 6, 12 are of course poor specimen, but hey can be referred to.

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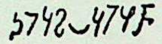
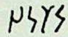
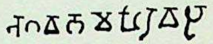
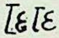
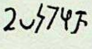
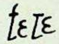
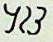
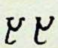
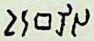
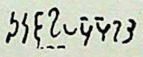
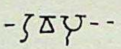
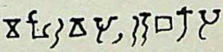
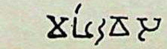
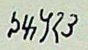
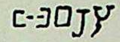
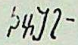
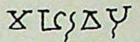
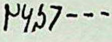
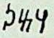
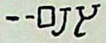
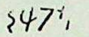
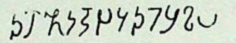
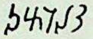
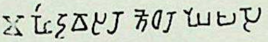
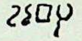
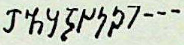
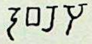
Coins of Mahadeva

S. No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	33.0	AR Round .65	Humped Bull r. lotus flower (?) in front  around (Bhagavata-mahadevasa) below  (Rajarañа)	Elephant l. trident on l. (Bhagav-atamahadevasa)  (around) below  (Rajarāja)
2.	31.5	.65	Humped bull l. on l. above.  around below. legend in Kh. Bhaga-vatamaha (devasa) around & Rajarañа, below.	—as above— Traces of legend around. Below  (Rājaraja)
3.	42.0	AE Square .6	Tree in enclosure. forepart of ele-phant to l. on r. legend in Kh. to. (Mahadevasa) on r.  (Odubarisa)	Stūpa on l. trident with axe on r. Legend in Br.on r.  (sasa illegible) on l.  (Odubarisa)
4.	42.0	AE Sq. .65	 (Mahadevasa)	
5.	40.5	.7	...	
6.	31.5	.6	...	

S.No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
7.	45.7	.7		
8.	45.0	.65		
9.	42.8	.7	 	

1. Coins under serial No. 1 are made of silver. They are round in shape. They furnish the names of two kings—Mahādeva and Dharaghoṣa. It must be noted here, that Rudravarman's unique coin which was attributed by Cunningham, Whitehead, Allan and others to the Audumbaras cannot be classed with the coins of the Audumbaras since it bears the name of the tribe styled Vemakas. As noted earlier (IHQ, Vol-XX, pp-59-62) Kar has correctly attributed them to the Vemakas.
2. These coins appear to have been found at Pathankot. For Specimen see CAI, p-68. pl-IV, 5 and BMCAI, p-123, pl-XIV-16. Cunningham reads Rajaraja on the reverse, the sides which he takes to be obverse.
3. The provenance of the coin under serial No. 2 is unknown. For specimen BMCAI, p-123, pl-XIV-17 can be referred.
4. Coin Nos. 4 to 9 were found at Irripal. For specimen see BMCAI, p-124, pl-XV-5. Coin No. 5 of the SCCIM, p-49 presents some novelty in introducing the Brāhmī legend with motif of a tree, the forepart of an elephant etc. which usually occur on the obverse. Here also, Bidyābinod considers the reverse to be obverse and vice-versa. He of course describes coin No. 7 differently.

Coins of Dharaghoṣa

S, No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	37.5	AR .7 Round	Viśvāmitra standing facing with r. hand raised, traces of skin over l. arm, legend in Kh. in front  (Viśpamitra). Around  (Mahadevasa raña Dharaghosa). Below  (Odubarisa).	Trident with axe on r. tree in enclosure on l. Around legend in Br.  (Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoṣa). Below 
2.	43.7	AE .6 Square	Tree in enclosure, forepart of elephant.  (Maha) devasa rana Dharaghosa (sa)	Two-storeyed stūpa, Trident on r. Legend in Br.  (Odumbarisa)

The following are the details of the above coins :—

1. The coin under serial No. 1 is represented by two specimens only. One is in the Punjab Museum and the other is in the British Museum. The British Museum specimen was found by Cunningham at Pathankot (CAI, p-67). For the Punjab Museum (Lahore) specimen see PMC, p-167, pl-XVI, 136 and for the British Museum specimen see BMCAI, p-124, pl-XIV, 14.
2. A.C. Banerji,[1] while referring to Cunningham's list, thinks that the obverse contains the figure of Lord Śiva standing to front with right hand raised and left on hip instead of Viśvāmitra as John Allan[2] considers.

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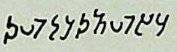
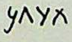
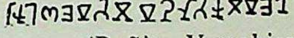
1. JBORS, Vol-XX (1934), p-169.
2. Allan, J., Op. Cit., Dharaghoṣa Serial No. 21.

These coins are generally of silver according to Rapson. The type has a strong similarity of style with this type and one of Azilises.[1] It is suggested by the manner in which *Viśpamitra* or Viśvāmitra is inscribed on the obverse that it is the figure of the sage mentioned in the Purāṇas[2] and not of Śiva. It is just possible that the forefathers of this king might have been the mythical sage-kings of the Hindus.

3. The obverse of Dharaghoṣa's silver coins bear the figure of Viśvāmitra (Viśpamitra) as has been described in the Kharoṣṭhī legend across the figure. On the reverse, there occur two symbols which have a close association with Śiva viz. combined trident battle-axe on a pedestal and a tree within the railing.
4. The copper coins of Dharaghoṣa (also Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa) invariably bear on the reverse the representations of the structural shrines—'Domed pavilions' (Coomarswamy) or two-storeyed domedstūpa (Allan) with the trident battle-axe standards placed before them.
5. The presence of the latter figure gives a definite proof, that the structures are not stūpas rather they are Śaiva shrines which must have contained the images of phallic emblems of Śiva. These coins can be dated in the 2nd-1st century B.C.

Coins of Rudravarmā

S. No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.		AR .7 Round	Bull r. lotus in front, legend in Kharoṣṭhī  (Rañā Vamakisa Rudra varmasa)  (Vijayata)	Elephant r. trident with axe on l. legend in Brāhmī—  (Rañja Vemakisa Rudravarmasa Vijaya ka (?)

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1. Cunningham, A., CAI, p-67, pl-IV, fig-1; Rapson, E.J., IC, p-11,
2. Chakrabortty, S.K., Op. Cit., p-159.

S. No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
2.	53.5	AE .8 Round	Tree in railing on r. Undulating line (Cobra) on l.	(Temple) Stūpa; traces of Brāhmī legend.
3.	27.0	.65	—similar—	—similar—
4.	54.5	.75		Traces of legend
5.	56.5	.7		Elephant to l. with rider.
6.	23.0	.55	Elephant to r. Traces of legend	Tree in railing. Legend in Brāhmī (Asata.. Hak...) ?

The following are the details of the coins of Rudravarmā :—

1. On the coin under serial No. 1, Cunningham reads Raja instead of Rāñā on the obverse. Whitehead accepts his reading (PMC, p-167). The reading 'Vijayata' on the obverse suggested by Cunningham, Rapson and others is accepted by Allan in the text of his catalogue—(p-125). But in the 'Introduction' of the same work, he proposes to read 'Vijayaya' instead of 'Vjayata' and says that Vijayaya is a Prākṛt equivalent of 'Vijayaka' (occurring in the Brāhmī legend), which is an adjective meaning—'Victorious'. Allan correctly reads—'Vemakisa' in the introduction of catalogue--p-lxxxv.
2. The provenance of the coin under serial No. 2 is not known. Allan describes the line on the obverse as cobra and the temple as 'Stūpa'.
3. The provenance of the coin under serial No. 6 is also not known. For specimen see BMCAI, p-126, pl-XV, 16.

A.M. Shastri[1] is of the view that Rudravarmā belonged to another tribe called 'Vemakī', and that he was not a ruler, chief or king of the Audumbara lineage. He issued silver money, the obverse and reverse types of which were closely agreeing with those of silver coins of Mahādeva and with the Kharoṣṭhī legend—'Vijaya-Raña-Vemakisa Rudravarmasa' on obverse and Brāhmī legend—'Vijayaka-Rajñ (o) Vemakisa Rudravarmasa' on the reverse. The tribal name of the Audumbaras has not been mentioned and this he considers to be a sufficient proof of untenability of associating him with the Audumbara lineage.

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[1] JNSI, Vol-XXVI (1964), Pt-II, p-161.

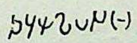
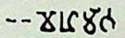
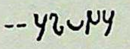
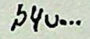
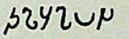
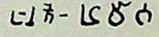
R.C. Kar[1] suggests that Rudravarmā may be identified with the Vemakas as named in a quotation of Parāśara cited by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in the commentary of Varāhamihira's Bṛhatasaṁhitā (XIV, 29-31).[2] And on the same lines and similar grounds A.M. Shastri refutes the theory of connecting the coins of kings :—

1. Ajamitra (Āryamitra),
2. Mahīmitra,
3. Bhānumitra,
4. Vīryasas, and
5. Vṛīṣṇis,

to the Audumbara series.[3]

R.D. Banerji had expressed his doubt about the ascription of the coins of Rudravarmā, kings with names ending in 'Mitra' and Vīryasas to the Audumbara tribe as early as 1914.[4] Perhaps Allan did not know of the opinion of Mr. Banerji and followed the opinion of Cunningham who had attributed the coins of Rudravarmā, Āryamitra, Mahīmitra and Bhānumitra to the Audumbara people.

Coins of Mahīmitra

S. No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	51.0	.7	Standing figure to l. holding spear in r. hand. Legend in Kh.  (Mahi mitrasa)	Elephant to l. Legend in Brāhmī (—)  [Mahi mita (sa)]
2.	35.5	.7		Traces of legend.
3.	34.0	.8		
4.	31.0	AE .65 Round	—as preceding— 	—as preceding— — 

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[1] IHQ, XX (1944), pp-59-62.

[2] Vijainagaram Sanskrit Series No. X, Pt-I, p-294.

[3] Cunningham, A., Op. Cit., p-68 ff.

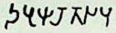
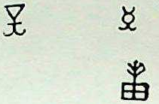
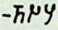
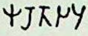
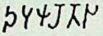
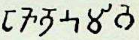
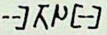
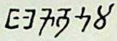
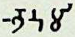
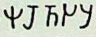
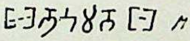
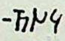
[4] JABS (1914), NS-XXIII, p-248.

The coin described in serial No. 1 was found at Pathankot. For specimen see CAI, p-61, pl-IV, 9. Also see BMCAI, pp-126-27, pl-XV, 17-20.

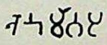
Cunningham reads on his specimen (Ra) jna, in Kharoṣṭhī and Rājanya, in Brāhmī.

Coins of Bhānumitra

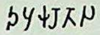
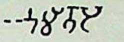
Variety 'A'

S. No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	32.0	.55	Elephant to l. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī  (Rañа Bhānumitrasa)	 Legend in Brāhmī (Rana Bhanumitrasa)
2.	28.7	.6	-- 	,,
3.	25.0	.6		- — —
4.	33.5	.65		
5.	37.0	.65	--- 	— — ,,
6.	37.4	.6	-- -	
7.	23.5	AE Round .5	—as preceding— -	—as preceding— - 
8.	32.5	.6	- 	
9.	31.6	.5	-- 	,,

Variety 'B'

1.	58.5	.75	Male figure standing to l. holding spear in r. hand. Undulating line on r. Inscription in Kharoṣṭhī illegible.	Elephant to l. with rider (———) legend in Brāhmī  [Bhānu Mita (sa)]

Variety 'C'

S.No.	Weight	Metal & Size	Obverse	Reverse
1.	28.5	.55	Elephant to l. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī  [Raña (.) numitrasa(?)]	Elephant to r, before Legend in Brāhmī  (numitrasa)

The following are the details of the coins of Bhānumitra :—

1. Coin under serial No. 1 of variety 'A' was found by Cunningham, at Pathankot.

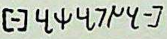
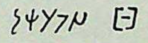
The Indian Museum has got a similar coin which has been attributed by Smith to Bhānumitra (CCIM, p-166). He has however taken the obverse as reverse.

There is also another worn-out coin of this variety in the Indian Museum.

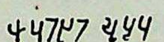
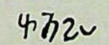
(For specimen see CAI, pl-IV-12 and BMCAI, p-127, pl-XV, 1, 2, 19, 21, 22, pl-XVI, No. 3).

2. The provenance of the coin under serial No. 1 of variety 'B' is not known. For specimen see BMCAI, p-128., pl-XLIII, 2.
3. The provenance of the coin under serial No. 1 of variety 'C' is not recorded but it may be attributed to Bhānumitra. For specimen see BMCAI, p-128, pl-XLIII, 3.

Coins of Āryamitra

S. No.	Weight	Metal & Size	Obverse	Reverse
1.	62.5	AE .75 Round	 	Elephant to l. with rider.

Coins of Mahābhūtimitra

1.	61.5	.6	Male figure standing to l. Holding spear in r. hand. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī on l.   (Raña ...).	Elephant to l. with rider. Inscription illegible.

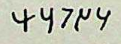
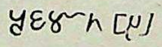
Coins of Virayasas

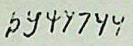
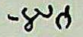
S. No.	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	57.5	AE 0.75	Wheel surrounded by circle of dots. Indian legend Rajno Koputasya (or Koptanasya) Vira Yasasya	Chaitya surmounted by Buddhist symbol of Dharmachakra and Triratna, with Svastika to l. and unknown Buddhist symbol to r. In field the Arian letters Rajna.

Coins of Vṛṣṇi

1.	32 grs.	AR 0.6	Pillar with half-lion and half elephant surmounted by triratna symbol and surrounded by Buddhist railing. Indian legend 'Vrishni Raja Jnagansya Bhubharasya'.	Large Dharmachakra symbol. Arian legend 'Vrisni Raja Jnaganasya Bhubharasya Vijayata.

Coins of Ajamitra

1.	71 grs.	AE .7	Elephant with upraised trunk, moving to l. towards tree in Buddhist railing. Indian legend (Rajna) Aja. mitasa.	Man standing to l. with spear in r. hand. Snake to r. Arian legend Rajna sa.
2.	71.0	.7	Male figure standing to l. holding spear in r. hand. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī on l.  (**Raña Ajami**...)	Elephant to l. Tree on l. Legend in Br.  (Ajamitasa)

S.No	*Weight*	*Metal & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
3.	52.0	AE .7 Round	As preceding. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī  (Raña Ajamitrasa)	Elephant to l. with rider. Legend in Br.  (Rajña Ajamitra)

The coin under serial No. 2 was found at Pathankot. Cunningham, here also, takes the obverse to be the reverse. (For specimen see BMCAI, pp-125-26, pl-XV, 13-15 and also CAI, pl-IV, 7).

4. (b) PROVENANCE AND TECHNIQUE OF MANUFACTURE

In 1913, a large number of coins were found at *Irripal*, situated in the Kangra district of north Punjab.[1] Cunningham also found a small number of coins of this tribe at Pathankot and *Jwālāmukhi.*[2] In Hoshiarpur district J.P. Rawlins came across a number of Audumbara coins.[3]

Many coins were found at Pathankot among which were several belonging to the Greek king *Zoilus* and to the Indo-Scythian princes *Gondophares*, *Kaniṣka* and *Huviṣka*. But the most interesting of them are some small copper coins with the name—Audumbara embossed on them in Arian *Pali* letters. They date back to the beginning of the Christian era. Not a single coin of this description has been found any where else. Cunningham considers them to belong to the district in which they have been discovered.[4]

The temple coins of the Audumbaras are unique in the ancient Indian coins, so far as the introduction of the third dimension in the figure of a building is concerned.[5] We do not come across a single piece of Indo-Bactrian coinage where such effort may appear to have been made. Roman temple-coins came to Indian markets. It appears that such early Roman coins led to the adoption and introduction of this type. It is probably to this period that the similarity between *Manasara* and *Vitrunius* has to be assigned.

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[1] JASB (NS—XXII, 134), p-247 ff.
[2] Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-116 & 134; CAI, p-67.
[3] Smith, V.A., Op. Cit., pp-160-61.
[4] Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-116.
[5] Cf. the outline of the building on Sohgnara copper plate No. 7, Fig-1 of NS—XLVII, JASB. It is not certain whether the two buildings on this copper-plate are temples or granaries.

It is just possible that the outline of the stūpa might have appeared very much early and the Audumbaras might have put the temple instead. But the relief depicted on these coins are really unparalleled so far as the contemporary tribal coins are concerned.

As we have not come across any remains of a mint or apparatus belonging to this tribe so far, it has become very difficult to determine definitely, the particular technique that was current with them.

But, anyhow, as they were contemporary of the Yaudheyas, the Arjunāyanas, the Śibis, the Mālavas the artisans and craftsmen of almost all these tribes must have been making the use of almost the same technique i.e.—casting and die-striking.

4. (c) TYPES AND SYMBOLS

The devices and symbols which occur on the Audumbara coins are :—

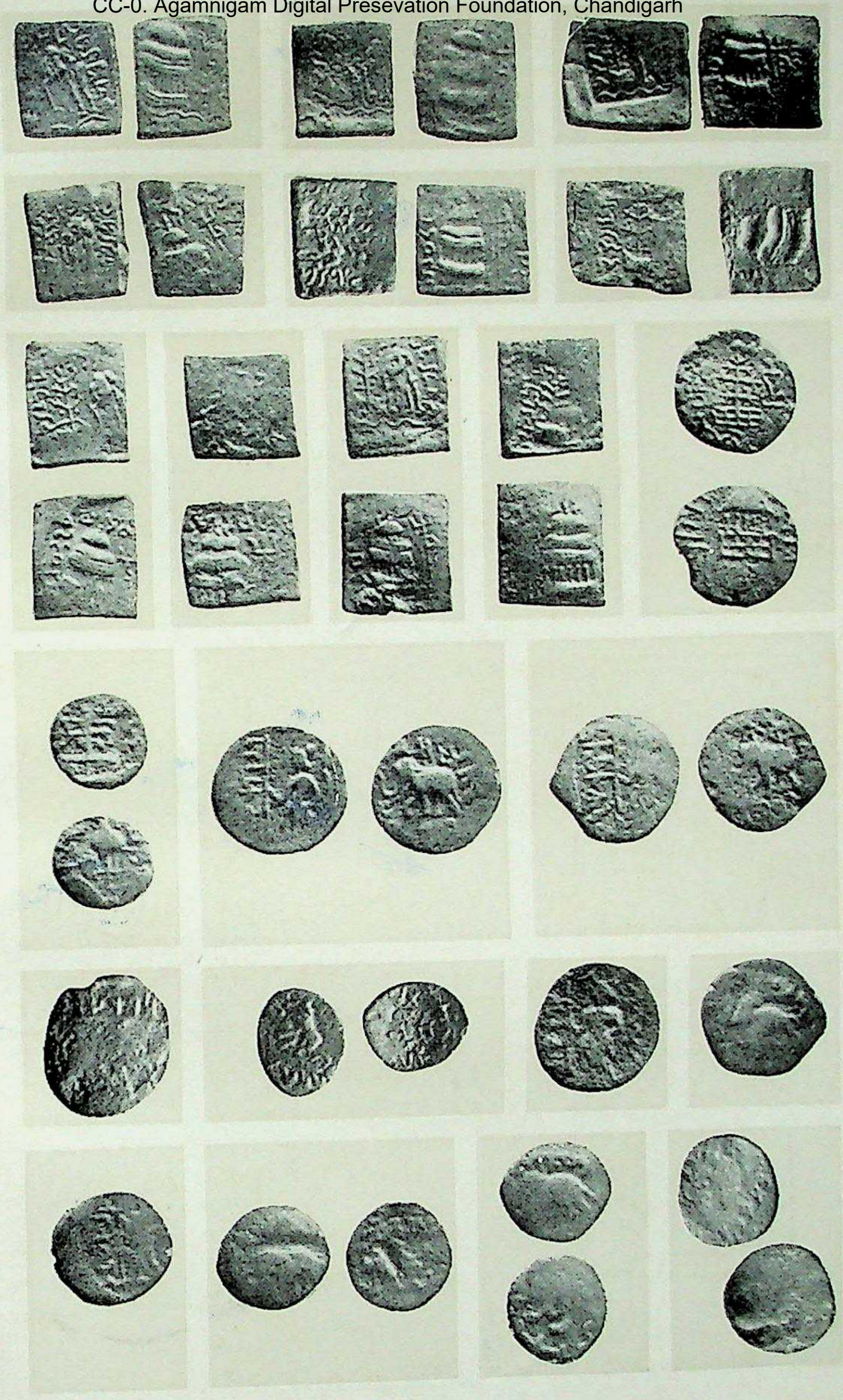
1. Tree in enclosure,
2. Elephant (Sometimes its forepart only),
3. Bull (Sometimes humped),
4. Lotus flower,
5. Undulating lines,
6. Trident with axe,
7. Pointed roofed temple, and
8. Figure of Viśvāmitra.

If we examine these devices and symbols thoroughly, we come to the following conclusions :—

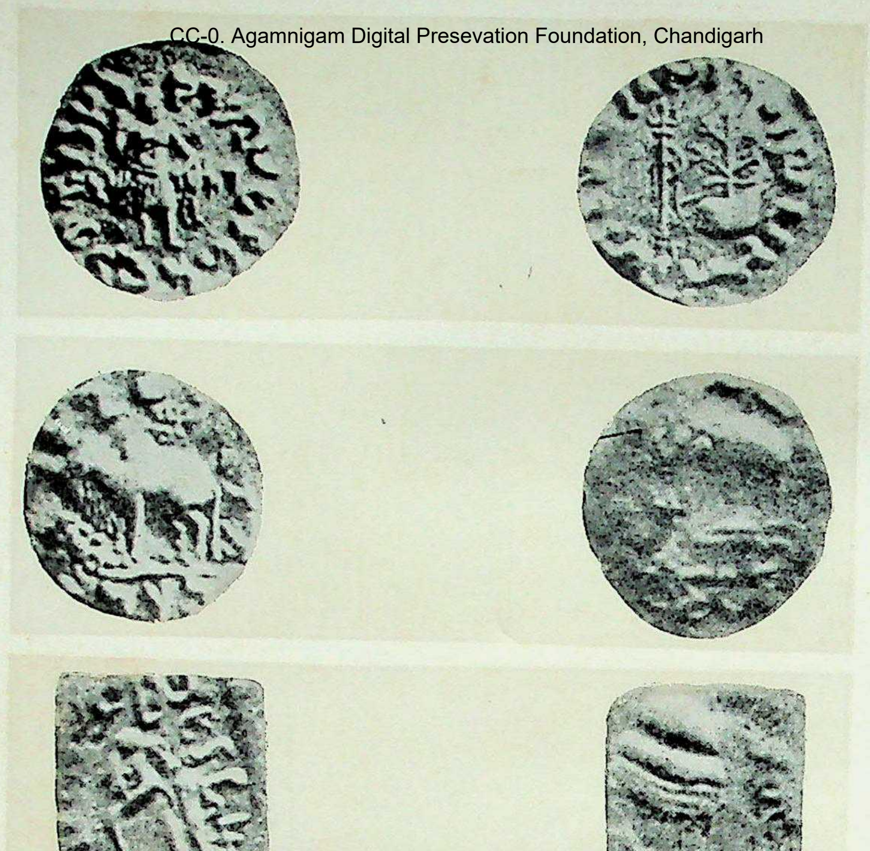
1. Tree in enclosure

It is quite reasonable to identify this tree with the Udumbara fig-tree. Cunningham also has suggested the same. The tree can also be considered to be either canting-badge (*lachchhana* or heraldic crest) of the tribe or a representative symbol for what is known as *Sthala-Vṛksha* of the locality where the coins were in currency.

Because of the common tree-motif on early Indian coins, Allan is reluctant to identify the tree necessarily with the Audumbaras. This argument has definitely some weight because we are aware of the wide prevalence of tree-cult in ancient India. This tree-cult goes back to the days of the



Plate—VII, The Audumbara Coins



Plate—VIII, The Audumbara Coins

Indus-Valley civilization. Early Indian sculpture and coins bear testimony to it, as we have before us references to *Chaityavṛkshas* and *Devaranyas* in the epics. Trees, in general, are regarded as abodes of gods. We know of the great reverence and the esteem of the Hindus for the *Baṭavṛksha* and *Peepal*. It is traditionally believed that each *Buddha* had his own tree and that *Gautam Buddhā* attained enlightment (Saṁbodhi) under a Peepal tree at Bodh-Gayā.

This tree, in particular, can therefore be considered to be a representation of the *Sthala-Vṛksha* of the Audumbara tribe. It can also be identified with the Udumbara (fig-tree) with certitude. With these special regards it would have been put into an enclosure or railing like the other sacred objects such as the stūpas etc.

2. Elephant

The elephant was one of the animals which was venerated by the Audumbaras. In 'Coins Of Ancient India', Cunningham describes only one coin in which the figure of an elephant occurs. That specimen was of a whole elephant, but it was so poor that no photograph could be taken On the other hand the coins of Irripal-find contain on them the head, trunk and forelegs only.

The following other coins also contain the figure of elephant :—

1. Vāyudeva coins,
2. Śivadatta coins.
3. Kada coins,
4. Coins of Uddehikas,
5. Bṛhaspatimitra coins, and
6. Some coins found at Kauṣāmbī and Taxilā.

The Buddhist tradition says that *Gautam* entered the womb of his mother, *Māyādevī*, as a white elephant in her dream. There is one sculptural representation conforming to this tradition on the railing of *Bhārhut*. It is just likely that the Audumbaras might have maintained this traditional veneration for this animal and therefore they gave it a place on their coinage.

3. Bull

Great regard for this animal by ancient Indians can be attested from the archaeological finds at the two ancient cities of *Mohenjodaro* and *Harappa*. Bull is the *vāhana* of the great god Śiva and as such is found on seals that have been unearthed at the ancient sites of Basarh, Besnagar, Bhita etc. As the other thereomorphic representations of god Śiva (namely the trident and battle-axe etc.) occur on the coins of the Audumbaras, it is evident that they were votaries of lord Śiva and therefore they had great reverence for his *Vāhana* (*Nandī*) also.

It is not only ancient Indians who venerated Bulls. Bulls had a great veneration in many parts of the ancient world. The Hellenic god *Dionysus* of the European folk-lore is sometimes seen represented as a bull. This form of the god was an expression for his character as a deity of vegetation. The bull is a common embodiment of corn-spirit in northern Europe.[1]

4. Lotus flower

To the Indians, lotus is a sacred flower. It symbolises 'Śrī' or fortune and its use by the Audumbaras along with other religious objects thus seems to be justified. It may also be taken to be a *Chakra* or *Discus* and may be a countermark only.

5. Undulating line

Cunningham interprets the undulating line appearing on the coins of the Audumbaras to be the figure of Snake.[2] Allan also accepts this identification but only once. The arguments of S.K. Chakrabortty is very logical. In his opinion when the zig-zag line occurs with the figure of a hill, it represents a river and therefore signifies special local feature. In cases where the undulating line occurs without a hill-feature, they cannot be anything more than mere ornamentation.[3] The tree and river symbols when appear together on the coins, they definitely portray a symbolization of the fertility of the country and the influence of the tribe concerned.

In the present case the zig-zag line can be a representation of the river named—*Udumbarāvatī*. Mention of this river has been made in the *Mahābhāṣya* of *Pātañjali*,[4] and also in the

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1. Golden Bough—St. Martin's Library, pp-513-611.
2. Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-136.
3. JRASB, NS (1936), p-61.
4. IV. 2.71; II.287.

Harivaṁśa. This river appears to have a close association with the land of the Audumbaras. B.N. Puri identifies it with a small tributary which joins the river Beas near Gurdaspur.[1]

6. Trident with Axe

The Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains regard the triśūla as a sacred symbol. The early Buddhist art at *Sāñchī* and *Bhārhut* justify the Buddhist reverence for this object while the sculptures found at *Kankali-tila* near *Mathurā* justify the esteem of the Jains for it.

In the case of their representation on the Audumbara coins they definitely stand as the symbol for the great god Śiva. In Cunningham's drawing there is a shaft surmounted by a wheel instead of Triśūlá as well as a *Svastika* on a pillar to the left of the temple, but the coins of Irripal contain the trident clearly. Of course, in some cases they are marked with flying banner.

S.K. Chakrabortty s consideration about the triśūla being the tribal insignia can be quoted here in his own words[2] :—

> 'Triśūla is the special weapon of Śiva and is found in Vimaka (i.e. in Rudravarman's coins) and Audumbara coins .. in Audumbara coins the trident is highly elaborate and is perhaps the figure of their standard .. on occasions the national standards of the tribes figure in their coins. The Audumbaras appear to be very fond of their tribal insignia and 3 different varieties are employed by them. The symbol on the reverse of the Viśvāmitra-type coins, to the left of the Udumbara tree is a trident, battle-axe, a triśūla and axe combined. The same symbol is found on the reverse of a hemidrachm of Zoilus.'

A pillar is shown on each side of the temple, on the reverse of the Audumbara coin of the 'Elephant-Temple' type. The left pillar has a svastika and the right one has the insignia of a wheel with 'pendant garlands'. Cunningham considers the wheel to be a representation of the *Dharmachakra*.[3]

In view of the above discussion, it is quite doubtless that this symbol signifies a religious character.

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[1] 'India In The Time of Pātañjali', p-71.

[2] JRASB, NS (1936), p-61-62.

[3] ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-136; CAI, p-66.

7. Pointed-roofed temple

On the square copper coins and the silver coins of Dharaghoṣa we come across an object resembling a temple. Cunningham also describes this object as a pyramidal temple of two or three storeys. The lower storey is supported by 4 or 6 pillars.[1] Allan[2] considers it to be a two-storeyed domed-stūpa and K.P. Jayaswal[3] thinks that the building is the representation of a mote-hall or some other public-building of the tribe.

S.V. Sohoni draws our attention to the third act of the '*Pratimā Nāṭakam*' of *Bhāsha.*[4] In that act a mention has been made about prince *Bharata* who is in search of a suitable resting place before entering *Ayodhyā* :—

"कस्य नु खलु दैवतस्य स्थानं भविष्यति ।
नेह किंचित प्रहरणं ध्वजो वा बहिश्चिह्नं
दृश्यते । भवतु प्रविश्य शास्ये ।

He sees a temple at a distance. This temple is without a *Praharaṇam* (weapon) or a *Dhvaja* (Banner) to symbolise the god worshipped in it. Temples depicted on the coins of the Audumbaras have a Dhvaja, a Triśūla and a Battle-axe and on that ground Sohoni thinks that it must have been a Śaivite temple. He says[5] the representation is a type and not a particular building. He describes this structure and says that the ground-floor is a square with two steps on one side.[6] The twelve pillars contribute one-third of the total height. In space as small as $\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$, it was actually not possible to make a true representation of any details or ornamentation An open circumambulatory exists around the sanctum. The bulbous pillars might have been carved with floral patterns or figures of dragons, animals or birds. It was, as he asserts, a hill-temple and not a mote-hall,[7] or a two or three-storeyed stūpa.[8] The blending lines of wood, slate and brass in shrines standing near

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1. CAI, p-66.
2. BMCAI, p-122.
3. HP, p-161.
4. JNSI, Vol-IV, p-56.
5. Ibid.
6. Allan, J., pl-XV, No. 2.
7. Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-161.
8. Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-122.

a river-bend with extensive views up and down stream, persist even today and are a matter of great attraction in the Kulu and the Beas valleys.

India had established trade relations with the Romans in ancient times. It is just possible that these Roman coins inspired the Indians to emboss the figure of temple on coinage.

Towards the end of the 2nd century B.C. (the approximate time of the coins under review), *Heliodorus*, the Greek Ambassador, erected a temple of Vāśudeva at *Vidiśā*. This temple had a *Garuḍadhvaja* in its front. J.N. Banerjea[1] also endorses the view of Sohoni and considers the figure of the temple to represent a 'Śaiva Shrine' with double domes and multiple pillars'.

R.D. Banerjee[2] points out that the building appearing on these coins is a three-storeyed one, and in different in shape from the one which appears on Cunningham's coins. It has been described to be a 'structural shrine or pavilion' by A.K Coomarswamy.[3] On the coins of Huviṣka[4] also, we come across the pavilion with double-ornamented plinth and enshrining figures of *Mahārāna*, *Skanda* and *Viśākha*. But the Audumbara coins are of a period prior to Huviṣka. They are however representations of ancient Indian temples. Certain characteristics of the Audumbara structures have common association with the Dravida temples which have been known at a later time.

8. Figure of Viśvāmitra

The figure on the silver coins of Dharaghoṣa has been described by Cunningham to be the figure of Śiva[5] but this appears to be incorrect in the light of the fact that the name of Viśvāmitra is also inscribed on the coins. From literary evidences also it is proved that Viśvāmitra was the patron-saint of the Audumbara tribe.

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1. CHIS, p-799.
2. JASB (NS), p-248.
3. HIIA, p-45.
4. Ibid., p-48.
5. Cunningham, A., Op. Cit., p-61.

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SYMBOLS ON THE COINS OF THE AUDUMBARAS

1. This symbol occurs in the *Pāñchāla* series. It also appears on some of the coins found at *Ayodhā* (BMC, p-133). We come across this symbol on a class of Kuṇinda coins (BMC, pp-cl, 139-67) also. This has been described by Prinsep as a *Jayadhvaja* (JASB, IV, p-628). It probably represents *Jayadhvaja* or *Svastika* and is therefore invested with some religious significance.

2. This symbol also is found embossed on the Pāñchāla series of coins. It is difficult to explain. It can of course be taken to be 'M' of Brāhmī with the addition of the appendix of the two hooks at the bottom which curve upwards. Allan also is silent about both these symbols.

3. It is the well known '*Nandipada*' symbol to which religious significance has been universally given in ancient India.

4. It is probably a solar representation.

In the silver coins of Dharaghoṣa and also Mahādeva, we can notice a lot of foreign influence. They conform more to the weight-standard of the Indo-Greek coins which is of 40 grains rather than the indigenous measure which is of 56 grains. The later Greek kings used the Indo-Persian weight-standard of 86.45 grains. The hemidrachms of the Indo-Greek kings weigh half of a Persian Siglos of 86.45 grains rather even less. Their average weight is about 40 grains. The Indo-Persian weight-standard (40 grains), adopted by the Indo-Greek kings, influenced the coinage of the rulers who came after them.

The silver coins of Mahādeva weigh 33 and 81 grains while Dharaghoṣa's coins weigh 37.5 and 43.7 grains. And this weight-standard of the silver coins of the Audumbaras which varies from 31 to 43 grains can be taken to have conformed to the weight-standard of the Indo-Greek coins.

So far as the devices on the coins are concerned, we come across the same findings. The figure of Viśvāmitra on the silver coins of Dharaghoṣa bears a strong resemblance to *Hercules* crowning himself as we find on the hemidrachms of *Lysias*. Although the '*Club*' has disappeared, the '*Lion-skin*' is present. Besides this from the standpoint of fabric also the coins show foreign influence. The epithet like '*Rāj-rāja*' by Mahādeva has also a foreign touch. If we observe the coins minutely, we find a resemblance between the standing poses of '*Pallas*' who hold thunder-bolt in right and '*Aegis*' in left hand, on a coin of *Azilises*[1] and of Viśvāmitra on the silver coins of Dharaghoṣa. Of course the figure of Viśvāmitra looks like a sage.

4. (d) PALAEOGRAPHY OF COIN-LEGENDS

Early numismatic data indicating occasionally the existence of structural shrines, very frequently show the railings which demarcated these *Sthānas*. Depiction of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical divinities usually show different dispositions of their hands. This is because of the fact that—either they express different ideas and so they are posed differently or because of the fact that different emblems or weapons are held by them in their hands.

The epigraphy of the coins points to the 1st century B.C. Coins were found at *Panthankot* along with the coins of *Zoilus*, *Vonones* and *Gondophares* and also *Kaniṣka* and *Huviṣka*. The Audumbara coins, it appears, preceded the coins of these invaders. The dialect on each side is possibly the same but the inscription which is fragmentary, makes it difficult to decide.

On the silver coins, we find a little bit of difference. The genitive,—'*Oduṁbarisa*' is shown by both Brāhmī and Kharoṣthī. The use of the genitive suffix of the 'a'—stem, in stems in 'i' and 'u' being quite usual in the Prākṛt of the time.[2]

Among the rare silver coins of the Audumbaras, there is no doubt about at least one, which can be attributed to Dharaghoṣa because this coin bears the tribal name—'Odu(m)barisa' and the same legend as the copper pieces. Its connection with the copper pieces is shown by the reverse type, which is the trident with axe on shaft beside the tree in enclosure. The obverse type is a bearded male-figure with right hand raised, clearly copied from the type of Hercules crowning himself. We get such figure on the hemidrachm of Lysias. The club which he was holding in his left arm, has disappeared but the lion's skin is still hanging there.

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1. NC (1890), pl-X, 5a.
2. Franke, R.O., 'Pali Und Saṅskrit' (1902), p-65.

The above figure has been, however, labelled Viśpamitra, i.e. the sage Viśvāmitra. '*Spa*' for '*Sva*' is found in the name *Aspavarman*. This coin, which, like the other silver pieces, is modelled on the Graeco-Indian hemidrachm can be dated in the middle of the 1st century B.C. A similar coin is in the Lahore Museum.[1]

The British Museum has two round silver coins of Mahādeva of 'Elephant and Bull' type. This recalls the very common hemidrachms of Apollodotus though majority of his coins are square. These coins are attributed to the Audumbaras because :—

1. They bear the name 'Mahādeva' on them.
2. They have the Elephant and Trident type in front.
3. They have general similarity with the coins of Dharaghoṣa.[2]

Long vowels have been frequently omitted and therefore, it becomes difficult to read the exact dialect.

The legend in the margin—'Bhagavatamahadevasa' in Prākṛt is exactly the same in Kharoṣthī and Brāhmī form. It is probably for' Bhāgavata-Mahādevasya'—meaning 'Mahādeva the worshipper of Bhāgavata'. The legend 'Rājarañа in the exergue of the obverse, corresponding to the Sanskrit 'Rājarajnaḥ', is represented by 'Rajaraja' on the reverse, which is a puzzling form, the second 'j' is probably an error for 'jn'.[3] This of course is a very occurrence in the Hindu dynasty of the title 'King of Kings'. The obverse of the two differ from each other so far as the design of the obverse is concerned. The form of the lotus and the direction of the 'Bull' are different in them.

The silver coins of Rudravarmā (the third ruler of whom a silver currency is known)[4] bear the types of Mahādeva. But in Rudravarmā's silver coins we find that the elephant is to the right. The elephant, trident and the axe with handle suggest that they had been attributed to the dynasty of the Audumbaras. The legends in the margin on both sides are in Kharoṣthī and in Brāhmī in Prākṛt :—

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[1] Whitehead, R.B., PMC, Vol-I, p-167, pl-XVI, No. 136.

[2] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-LXXXV.

[3] Bergny, JRAS (1900), p-412.

[4] Whitehead, R.B., Op. Cit., p-167, pl-XVI, No. 137.

Vijayaya-Raña Vemakisa Rudravarmasa
&
Vijayaka-Rañ (O) Vemakisa Rudravarmasa.

The first word is '*Vijayaya*', which is an equivalent of '*Vijayaka*'[1] in Prākṛt, is the correct reading of the corresponding word in the Brāhmī inscription where it begins the legend. This Vijayaya is an adjective which means—'*victorious*'.

In the Kharoṣthī legends also, we know that the word before the name of the king is 'Vemaki' for 'Vaimaki' like 'Odumbara' for 'Audumbara'. The legend means—'Of the victorious king Rudravarman the Vimaki', the latter being an otherwise unknown family of the Audumbaras.

It is remarkable to note the resemblance of the Audumbara silver coins with that of the Kuṇinda Amoghbhūti ones. They resemble in many ways. One of the coins of the Audumbaras was found with the Kuṇinda Amoghbhūti coins at Jwalamukhi in Punjab where as many as 28 hemidrachms of Apollodotus were also found.[2]

A group of coins on which the names of the kings end in 'Mitra', have been attributed to the Audumbaras only. Cunningham also considers them to be the issue of this tribe. They are, of course, not having any close connection with the coins which bear the name—'Odumbari' especially in type or style. The aspect for such consideration and attribution is the figure of the elephant which is embossed on the obverse with the rider and also the rarely visible tree in front of it. The obverse type is embossed with a figure of a male deity (Kārttikeya) or perhaps simply a warrior who is depicted holding a spear in his right hand (on some coins, we find an axe-head which is visible on the shaft, which recalls the trident axe of the preceding series). On the right, there is a wavy line standing perpendicularly. They contain inscription in Brāhmī and Kharoṣthī :—

'*Raña* (*Rajña*) *Ajamitasa Rajña Āryamitrasya*'

Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra are the names of the other three kings found on the coins of this series. On

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[1] On 'Ya' for 'Ka' of Pischel, Grammatik Der Prakrit-Sprachen 1900, p-598.

[2] Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-134.

Bhānumitra's smaller coins, we find the symbols—

and in place of the male figure. The attribution of these coins with new designs are ascertained (to the Audumbaras) after the study of the above type. Such coins have been found in Punjab, particularly in Hoshiarpur district. They are dated in the 1st century B.C. or A.D.[1]

Rapson[2] published a unique bronze coin of Bhāgavata Mahādeva. It contains an uncertain symbol on the obverse (also found on the Mathurā coins)[3] and on the reverse, it has a figure holding a battle-axe.

In the coins of Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa (spelt Rudradasa and Sivadasa), Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī have been introduced for the legends. The Brāhmī letters are of the first century B.C. when the cursive alphabet of the type of the Aśokan inscription ceased to be popular and the new angular forms took their place. The Kharoṣṭhī, used in the legends, also belongs to the same date.

We find in the coins of these two kings the following change in the spellings :—

1. Śivadasa for Śivadāsa,
2. Rudradasa for Rudradāsa,
3. Oduṁbari for Audumbarī, and
4. Mahadevasa for Mahādevasa.

From the above we can conclude that the use of long vowels such as—'ā', 'ū' 'ai' and 'au' seems to have been avoided both in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī.

Nelson Wright had with him 333 coins which were found in village *Irripal* in the Dehra Tehsil of the Kangra district (Punjab). They were examined by Mr. R.D. Banerjee.[4]

King Rudravarmā's unique silver coin of the Punjab Museum[5] had been attributed to the Audumbara tribe, but R.D. Banerjee differs from this. In his opinion coins which do not bear the name of the tribe, must not be attributed to the Audumbaras as he considers it to be very doubtful.[1] Cunningham and Whitehead included this coin among the coins of the Odumbaras,[2] while Allan has also confirmed their opinion.[3] This coin bears the figure of 'Humped Indian Bull' on the obverse to right, 'Lotus flower' in front, and marginal legend in Kharoṣṭhī. On its reverse, we find—'elephant with upraised trunk' to right, 'trident battle-axe of Śiva' in front and marginal legend in Brāhmī. The marginal legend in Kharoṣṭhī was read by Cunningham as '*Rajna-Vemakisa Rudravarmasa Vijaya*'. Whitehead read the obverse legend in Kharoṣṭhī as—'*Rajana Vemakisa Rudravarmasa Vijayanta*' and in his opinion the reverse legend in Brāhmī was the same as the obverse legend. *Bergny* had pointed out that the word preceding the name of the king in the marginal legend is—'*Vemakisa*' and not '*Vamikasa*'. In his opinion the coin is of King Vemaki Rudravarmā, the conqueror.[4]

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[1] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-LXXXVI.

[2] Rapson, E. J,. JRAS,(1900), pp-112-13, pl-1-12.

[3] Allan, J., Op. Cit., pl-XXIV.

[4] JPASB, New Series, Vol-X (1914), p-247.

[5] Whitehead, R. B., Op. Cit., p-167, No. 137 & pl-XVI.

This reading of Bergny (Vemaki standing for Vaimaki) has been accepted by Rapson. Rapson further observed that in legends of ancient Indian coins—'*Guna*' often occurs where we should expect '*Vṛddhi*'. He refers as example to 'Odumbari' for 'Audumbari', meaning the king of the 'Udumbaras'.[5]

Allan, in his catalogue, has read the obverse legend in Kharoṣṭhī as 'Raña Vamakisa Rudravarmasa Vijayata' and the reverse legend in Brāhmī as—'Rajna Vamakisa Rudravarmasa Vijaya-(Ka?).[6] But in the same catalogue at a different place he has proposed some changes in his original reading of the marginal legends in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī, which he now reads as—'Vijaya-rana Vemakisa'.

5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE TRIBE AS GLEANED FROM THEIR COINAGE

Przyluski's[7] conjecture that the Audumbaras had to bear the brunt of the aggression of the Āryans, appears to be correct.

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1. JASB (1914), Num. Supp. XXIII, p-248.
2. Cunningham, A., CAI, pp-66, 68, pl-IV, Fig-6.
3. Allan, J.. Op. Cit., pp-LXXXV-VI, 125 No. 23, pl-XIV, No. 13.
4. Bergny—JRAS (1900), p-419.
5. Rapson, E. J., JRAS (1900), p-429, Fig-2.
6. Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-125.
7. Przyluski, J., Op. Cit., p-24.

As a result of this aggression, the tribe was divided. The Mahābhārata refers to the Audumbaras of the Punjab while the Mahāmāyurī, the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and the Bṛhatasaṁhitā imply the southern Udumbaras. In the 5th century B.C., the Audumbaras appear as an independent tribe (the time of Gaṇapātha) but nothing can be said about the early political, social, religious and economic condition of the tribe as their early history is extremely obscure.

As we have seen before, the numismatic evidences show that the Audumbaras asserted their independence and they formed a separate state in about the 2nd century B.C. We, at present, know only about the happenings of the period between the 5th and the 2nd centuries B.C. According to a theory of Tarn[1] an Indo-Greek king *Menander* extended his dominion up to Punjab and Mathurā in the 2nd century B.C. He considers that the Audumbaras occupied the territory on the upper Beas which has been confirmed by the find-spots of their coins.

The numismatic evidence of the presence of the figure of Viśvāmitra[2] on the two specimen coins with inscriptions—'Viśpamitra' reveals the fact that the tribe considered Viśvāmitra as their national sage.[3] Of course having found no other evidence to prove the relation between the sage and the tribe Allan remarks 'Viśvāmitra's connection with the Audumbaras is otherwise unknown.[4] But we have seen that there are more than one evidence in history to prove their reverence and esteem to this sage.

On the reverse devices of copper-coins, issued by the Audumbaras, we find evidence of their Śaivite leanings. Opinions of course differ on the identification of the structure depicted on the reverse. Cunningham[5] and also R.D. Banerji[6] are of the view that it is a pointed roofed temple of two or three storeys with pillars, whereas J. Allan describes it as a 'two-storeyed domed stūpa'.[7] K.P. Jayaswal thought it to be a representation of either the mote-hall of the Audumbaras or some other important public-building.[1]

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[1] 'Greeks in Bactria & India', pp-238-40.

[2] Allan's Cat., p-124, pl-XIV, 14 and R.B. Whitehead's Cat., p-167, pl-XVI, No. 137.

[3] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-160.

[4] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-LXXXIV.

[5] Op. Cit., p-68.

[6] JASB (1914), pp-247-50.—'A new type of Audumbara Coins'.

[7] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-LXXXIII.

S.V. Sohoni's view is of course remarkable. He refers to a passage from *Bhasha's Pratimā-Nāṭaka* according to which, outside a temple there were usually weapons (*Praharaṇas*) or banner (*Dhvaja*), which announced the name of the deity worshipped inside.[2] He suggests that this building is nothing other than the replica of a Śaiva temple. Even today we come across temples of the same style in the Kulu and the Beas valleys.[3]

This view of Sohoni receives further confirmation from the fact that by the side of the building we see a trident, a battle-axe and a dhvaja on right in the field. The trident as tri-ratna happens to be sacred to the Buddhists also, but its interpretation in the light of the legends on both the sides of the coins clears such doubt. The legends describe the Audumbara chiefs as the worshippers of Mahādeva—and hence their Śaivite character is unquestionable.

The coins bearing the figure of '*Bull*' also point to the same conclusion, for the bull definitely stands for '*Nandī*', the *Vāhana* of Śiva. Besides this, the combined symbols, the trident and the battle-axe appear sometimes with the figures of Śiva on the reverse of the coins of *Vema Kadaphises*. The legend on the reverse of his coins is—'Maharajasa Rajatiraja Vemakathphisasa' or 'Maharajasa rajatirajasa Sarvaloge isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kathphisasatratara'.[4]

This very symbol is found on the coins of Vāśudeva and when Samudragupta issued coins in imitation of the coins of late Kuṣāṇas, he replaced the symbol with *Garuda* which was peculiar to the Vaiṣṇava faith. Anyhow, the available evidence is enough to prove that the Audumbaras, at least a section of them (if not all), professed the Śaiva faith.

A.M. Shastri accepts the fact that the Audumbara chiefs were Śaivas but on the other hand he says that King Mahādeva was

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1. Op. Cit., p-159.
2. "कस्य नु खलु दैवतस्य स्थानं भविष्यति
   नेह किंचित प्रहरणं ध्वजो वा बहिस्यवहन
   दृश्यते । भवनु प्रविश्य शास्ये ।"
3. JNSI, Vol-IV, pp-54-57.
4. Whitehead, R.B., Op. Cit., pl-XVII-36.

a *Bhāgavata* or *Vaiṣṇava*. As a proof of his statement, he refers to the two silver-coins in which the title 'Bhāgavata' can be read very clearly.[1] The religious import of the obverse and the reverse devices and the religious titles found in the legends of the coins are other reasons forwarded by him in support of his view that Mahādeva who issued coins, was not at all an Audumbara chief.[2]

The Kharoṣthī script indicates that about 100 B.C., they came under the influence of the *Satraps* like their neighbours of the Punjab and were finally absorbed. No later records of theirs is found. Their branch in *Kutchchha* lived longer. They have left their descendants in the enjoyment of their name—the modern community of Gujarati Brāhmiṇs of the Audumbara caste.[3]

S.V. Sohoni[4] insists upon the fact that the community of the Audumbaras did not, merely, had a series of 3 or 4 powerful kings of its own,[5] rather they had a prosperous commerce and trade.[6] The Audumbaras made donations to the *Sāñchī Stūpa* near *Vidiśā*.[7]

According to Tarn, both the Kuṇindas and the Audumbaras had been affected by the Greeks.[8] This was with regard to their coinage and trade. The Greeks had built temples in attic style in India. They used to worship their own gods in their temples. The legend—'*Kavisiye Nagara-Devatā*', is a proof of this inference especially because the 'Devatā' represented, was Greek and not at all Indian.[9] But anyhow the gods which circulated with the currency of the *Yavanas* were also sought to be displaced at the earliest opportunity.

The material prosperity of these people is testified by the abundance of coins which bear their name. We must take into account their advantageous situation on the great route from

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1. Rapson, E.J., JRAS (1900), p-112.
2. JNSI, Vol-XXVII (1965), Pt-I, p-89.
3. Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-160.
4. JNSI, Vol-IV (1942), Pt-I, p-56.
5. Allan, J., Op. Cit., pp-122-28.
6. Tarn, W.W, Op. Cit., p-239.
7. Cunningham, A., 'Bhilsa Topes', pp-239, 400 etc., EI, Vol-II, No. 96.
8. Tarn, W.W., Op. Cit., p-235.
9. Whitehead, R B., Op. Cit., p-26.

Magadha to *Kashmira*. Having been established on the openings of several valleys of the Himalayas, they were natural intermediaries between the mountain and the plains. Even today we find that Pathankot, being the rail-head for the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, is the junction of great commercial intercourse.

The local industries also contributed another major source of wealth. Sheep-rearing was one of the cocupations of the people. The sheep of that locality is famous for yielding very fine fleece—popularly known as *Pashmina* which serves to manufacture precious clothes—'Tus', 'Shawls' and costly woollen garments even today. Woollen goods have been one of the principal items of exchange between the inhabitants of the valleys and those of the plains.[1] The Audumbaras might have grown prosperous through the sale of woollen goods manufactured by them.

Cottage industries prevailing today in these localities which have survived the political destructions, permit us to imagine what it could have been in those days. A very prosperous industry of woollen goods and shawls existed at Pathankot which was one of the principal sites of the Audumbaras. This has been pointed out by Hunter also in his 'Gazetteer'.

The soundness of the financial position of the tribe can be imagined from the fact that the Audumbaras had issued silver coins.

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[1] JA (1920), pp-120-21. 'Le Parinirvana et les Funerailles de Buddha'.

The Kuṇindas

5

1. ORIGIN AND GROWTH

The ancient *Kuṇindas* have a place in the list of *Purāṇic* peoples. They are supposed to be represented by the modern *Kunets* of *Kulu* and *Simla* by Cunningham.[1] He finds no reason to hesitate in such identification. The present Kunets are not less than 400000 in number and inhabit the Kulu and other hill districts around Simla.[2]

In the Mahābhārata,[3] Viṣṇupurāṇa,[4] Vāyupurāṇa[5] and the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa,[6] the Kuṇindas have been called by the name of *Kulinda*. They have been mentioned in the Mahābhārata to have been conquered by *Arjuna*. Wilson has concluded from this context that they were mountaineers and neighbours of the *Trigarttas* who were the people of *Kangra*.[7]

Not only the Kulindas but also the *Kulindopatyakas* (or the *Kulindas* dwelling along the foot of the hills) have been mentioned in the Viṣṇupurāṇa. There is an exact description of the tract of the plains bordering the hills in which *Srughna* was situated. This Srughna is supposed to be the capital of the Kuṇindas.

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1. CAI (1891), p-70.
2. ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-126.
3. Sabhāparva, p-997 quoted by Wilson in Viṣṇupurāṇa, Vol-II, Hall's Ed., p-180.
4. शका हूगा: कुलिन्दाश्च ।
5. शका हृदा कुणिनादश्च; शकहृदा: कुलिन्दाश्च ।
6. शकद्रुजा: कलिङगाश्च ।
7. Viṣṇupurāṇa Vol-II, Hall's Ed., p-180.

Ptolemy has called the Kuṇindas by the name of '*Kulindrine*'. He has probably derived the word from the Indian Kulinda. From Kulindrine, Ptolemy means the country in which the river *Beas*, *Sutlej* and *Jamuna* rise.[1]

In the Saṅskrit literature they are mentioned by various names such as—*Kuṇinda*, *Kunninda*, *Kulinda* and *Kaulinda*. The leaders of the Gaṇa of the Kuṇindas (spelt also as Kauṇinda) have been mentioned by Varāhamihira also.[2]

Hudgson,[3] however, in his work on Nepal has expressed his view that the Kunets were of a mixed breed—aboriginal *Tartars* by the mother's side but *Āryan* by the father's.

It is evident from the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta that the frontier kings of *Nepal* and *Kartripura* paid tributes to him. This Kartripura is the capital of the *Katyur* Rājās of *Kumaon*. It must be considered that the Katyur dynasty was in existence at that time and that the Kuṇindas had been divided into a number of small independent states. It is possible that the princes of the dynasty of the Kuṇindas may have still ruled in a few of these states. The Kuṇindas have thus been mentioned in this inscription of Samudragupta, not by name but by the name of their capital—*Kārttikeyapura*.[4]

Inscriptions on wells, temples and other monuments testify that the Katyuras ruled in *Danapura*.[5] Their capital was at *Baijnath*. They had independent control over the Kangra Valley till the 16th century A.D., when Rudrachand annexed it. The *Chand* kings drove away many branches of these Katyuras to the western pattis of Kumaon-hills. They later established small kingdoms at *Sult*, *Dora* etc.

A very dominant role has thus been played by the Katyur dynasty in the history of Kumaon. It is supposed that they came from *Joshimath* situated in the *Nitti* valley. But it is difficult to say whether the Katyuras adopted their name or these original inhabitants of Joshimath themselves adopted the name Katyur. If the name Karttikeyapura on the Allahabad inscription is considered to be Katyur, it is possible that the

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1. Quoted in Allan's BMCAI, p-CIV.
2. Bṛhatasaṁhitā, IV.24 (कौलिन्दान गणपुङ्गवान).
3. 'Language and Literature of Nepal', Pt-II, p-37.
4. JUPHS, Vol-XVIII (Jul, Dec—1945), Pts-I & II, p-217.
5. Ibid., Vol-VI (1935), p-78.

name of the dynasty was derived from the place. It is, in any case, more likely that they were a remnant of the Kuṇinda empire.

Paṇḍit Tārādatta Gairola[1] considers the Katyuras to have come from *Garhwal* to *Baijnath* in the 13th century A.D. but this late tradition is not acceptable. Powell Price[2] has contradicted this view. Atkinson[3] has inferred from the local tradition that the Katyuras were the ruling family of Kumaon both before and after the great religious cataclysm of the 8th century.

From the above discussion it is evident that the Kuṇindas were a hill people. The distribution of their coins in the hill districts of Kumaon and Garhwal support this inference. The figures of hills, Deodar and Sambur (Stag/Deer) also help in arriving at this conclusion.

A.C. Banerji considers that their capital may have been at *Sugh* near *Barya* situated on the western bank of the river Jamuna.[4]

We know about the republics of Punjab and the Indus valley and these two areas can be called the land of republics particularly during c. 500 B.C. to 400 A.D. Most of their names are lost to the historians. The grammarians, of course, have preserved their names. Among such names—the *Vṛkas*, the *Dāmanis*, the *Pārśvas* and the *Kambojas* can be included.

Pāṇini[5] has mentioned that the *Trigartta-Shashthas* formed a confederation of the following 6 states :—

1. The Kauṇḍoparatha,
2. The Dāṇḍaki,
3. The Kraushṭaki,
4. The Jālamani,
5. The Brahmagupta, and
6. The Jānaki.

The coins bearing the legend—'*Trakatajanapada*' are considered to be the coinage of this confederation. Altekar[6] considers it to be most likely that the confederation which flourished in the Jalandhar-doab, later became a unitary state under the name of the Kuṇindas. The coins of the later period have been found in large numbers.

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[1] JUPHS, Vol-XVI, Pt-I, p-72.

[2] Ibid., Vol-XVIII (Jul, Dec—1945), Pts-I & II, p-218.

[3] Gazetteer of the N. W. Province—Kumaon, p-467.

[4] JBORS, Vol-XX (1934), p-160.

[5] V. 3-116.

[6] 'State and Government in Ancient India', 4th Ed, p-118.

2. FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The Kuṇindas had a republican form of administration. They had a central assembly. The members of the central assemblies of such peoples bore the title of kings. Kauṭilya[1] has referred to a class of such republics by the term '*Rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*'.

From the coin-legends of the Kuṇindas also, we get confirmation of the fact that they had a republican system. The legends '*Rājnah Kuṇindasya Amoghabhutisya Mahārājasya*' should be translated thus :—

'Of Amoghabhūti, the Mahāraja (or Chief) of the Kuṇindas'.

This corroborates the literary testimony that all the members of the tribal-assembly were called '*Rājās*' and the President or the Chief of the house was called '*Mahārajā*'. The reverse of these coins bear the word—'Mahāraja' in the exergue, independently. This denotes the importance of the high office. It is a point worth consideration that the words 'Rājā' and 'Mahārajā' cannot be used for one man 'Amoghabhūti' alone as some of the historians assume.

It has been opined by the numismatists that Amoghabhūti was the name of a king of the Kuṇindas. Generally the period of the issue of a particular coin bearing the name of a king is limited to the period of his rule. The coins bearing the name of Amoghabhūti have been issued during a period extending over centuries. There have been, therefore, some serious objections to this conjecture. Smith[2] has tried to explain this difficulty by simply saying—'The name Amoghabhūti seems to have been used on the coins long after his death'. Jayaswal[3] suggests that it was probably an official title, meaning—'of unfailing prosperity'. This consideration of Jayaswal does not appear to be improbable.

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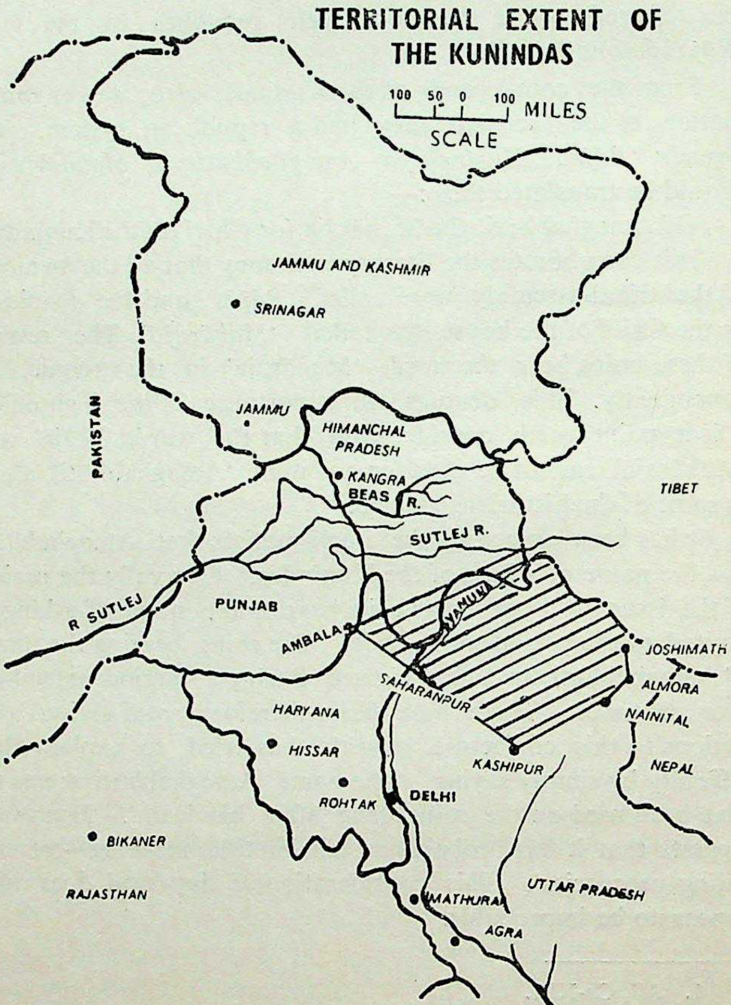
[1] AS, Ch-XI.1.

[2] Op. Cit., p-161.

[3] Op. Cit., pp-36 & 82.

Besides Amoghabhūti, there is another class of coins which has been designated as '*Chatreśvara Coins*'. Basing on his own interpretations of the legends in the Chatreśvara types of coins, Banerjea[1] considers that the tribal state of the Kuṇindas, at one time, was dedicated to Lord Śiva in the 2nd century A.D. and the coins were issued in his name in the capacity of a sovereign ruler. But the legend does not contain any regal title and therefore the suggestion does not appear to be correct. As a matter of fact the words in the legend are


TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE KUNINDAS
100 50 0 100 MILES
SCALE
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
PAKISTAN
JAMMU
HIMANCHAL PRADESH
KANGRA
BEAS R.
TIBET
SUTLEJ R.
R SUTLEJ
PUNJAB
AMBALA
YAMUNA
JOSHIMATH
SAHARANPUR
ALMORA
NAINITAL
HARYANA
HISSAR
KASHIPUR
NEPAL
ROHTAK
DELHI
BIKANER
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
MATHURA
AGRA

Map showing the territorial extent of the Kuṇindas adjectives of Lord Śiva because his figure appears on the coins bearing this legend.

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[1] DHI, p-118 (fn-1).

The chief of the Kuṇinda tribe is always mentioned as 'Amoghabhūti'. The interpretation of some numismatists considering him to be a king of the Kuṇindas is erroneous.[1]

'*Rājaśabdopajīvin Saṁgha*' implies a republic which recognised the title of '*Rājan*'. A constitution of this sort appears to have prevailed among the Kuṇindas. Their coins were struck in the name of the 'King' and the 'Political community'. This appears to be an official title and not a personal name of any 'King' or 'Chief'.[2]

3. EXTENT OF TERRITORY

'*Kulinda*' and '*Kuṇinda*' are now considered to be the two readings of the same name. This is strongly supported by the fact that more than half of the population of *Kulu* is *Kunet*. According to the census conducted in the year 1871, their numbers in *Kulu* and *Lahul* and *Spiti* (Buddhist districts) were as under[3]:—

Districts	*Population*	*Kunets*	*Percentage*
1. Kulu	90,343	52,836	58.5%
2. Lahul	5,970	4,566	76.5%
3. Spiti	3,024	2,878	95.1%

According to Ptolemy[4] *Kulindrine* was a province of Menander's kingdom which covered the upper valleys of the *Beas*, *Sutlej*, *Jamuna* and the *Ganga*. The above estimate of Ptolemy means—the whole area covered by the lower slopes of the Himalayas.

Varāhamihira in his Bṛhatasaṁhitā[5] places the Kuṇindas in the north-east division along with the *Kāśmiras*, *Kulūṭas*, *Abhīras* and the *Saindhas*. He has made a reference of the fate of a king of the Kuṇindas.[6] At another place he locates them

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1. Smith, V.A., Op. Cit., pp-161 & 167.
2. Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., pp-36 & 82.
3. Quoted in ASIAR, Vol-XIV-(1878-79), p-130.
4. VII, para 43.
5. Ch-XIV, 31 and 32.
6. Ibid., 33

आवन्तोथानतोमृत्युंचायाति सिन्धु सौवीरः ।
राजा चहार हौरोमद्रेशोन्यश्च कौणिन्दः ॥

with the Kulūṭas (people of Kulu) and the Sairindhas (people of Sarhind).

Allan[1] considers that the Kuṇindas occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the *Śivālika* hills between the Jamuna and the Sutlej territories in the upper courses of the Beas and Sutlej. This consideration of Allan agrees very well with some literary references to the Kuṇindas.

The *Śakas* subdued the indigenous ruling family of *Mathurā* in the western parts of U.P. and the adjoining regions of eastern Punjab. The *Kuṣāṇas* are believed to have overthrown the *Kuṇindas* and the *Kulūṭas* who had started ruling in the *Kangra* area after the decline of the *Yavanas*.

The Chinese traveller, Hiuen-Tsang, who visited India during the reign of Harṣavardhana, has described the kingdom of '*Po-Lohit-mo-pu-lo*' known as *Brahmapura* in 636 A.D. He has described the kingdom in the following words[2] :—

> 'The kingdom is 666 miles in circuit surrounded on all sides by mountains. The capital is small but the inhabitants are numerous and prosperous. The soil is fertile and seed time and harvest occur at regular seasons. Copper and rock-crystal are produced here. The climate is slightly cold and the people are rough in their manners, a few devote themselves to literature but the greater number prefer the pursuit of commerce. The inhabitants are naturally uncultured and there are followers of both the Buddhist and Brahmaṇical faiths. To the north of the kingdom in the midst of the great snowy mountains, is the kingdom of *Suvarṇagotra* where gold of a superior quality is produced and hence the name......For many centuries the ruler has been a woman and hence it is called the kingdom of queen.'

This *Brahmapura*[3] has been identified by Cunningham with *Lakhanpur* on the *Ramganga*. Atkinson considers the above description of Hiuen-Tsang to be of *Barahat* in Garhwal. Fuhrer has recently identified this place with *Panduwala* in Garhwal.

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[1] Op. Cit., p-cii.

[2] Quoted by Powell Price, J.C., in JUPHS, Vol-IV (1930), Pt-II, pp-7-14.

[3] Ibid.

Cunningham[1] believes that the Kuṇindas occupied the hill districts on both sides of the river Sutlej. He has further identified them with the *Srughna* of Hiuen-Tsang as the coins bearing the name of the Kuṇindas are found in great numbers about *Sugh* and its neighbourhood.[2]

Coins of the Kuṇindas occur in large numbers in the eastern Punjab and north-western Uttar Pradesh. It appears from the coin-finds that the territory of the Kuṇindas extended firmly into the *Saharanpur* and *Ambala* districts.[3] The later coins of the Kuṇindas are not found at *Kāśīpur* and at other places of the Kumaon district. The cause of this sudden discontinuation appears to be the total debacle of this tribe at the hands of the Kuṣāṇas. During the 1st century A.D., almost the whole of India had to face a total political upheaval. During this period the Kuṣāṇas played a dominant role insubduing the north Indian tribes. It is possible that the Kuṇindas might have shifted their tribal headquarters from the Himalayan foothills to the Katyur valley—a remote and inaccessible corner.

The Katyur valley of the Kumaon from where inscriptions mentioning *Kārttikeyapura* have been found, has been considered by Powell Price to be the Kārttikeyapura of Samudragupta's inscription. But this must have been one stage of the settlement of the tribe of the Kuṇindas after the invasion of the Kuṣāṇas. The places of their occupation at an earlier period must not have been the same.

Herodotus[4] has also made a reference of Brahmapura (the leading 'ant-gold', mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the 'Piplika' or 'ant-gold' brought by the *Khasias* to Yudhiṣthira). In the description of Hiuen-Tsang we find the mention of *Fan* or *Tibet* which according to him was situated towards the east of this Brahmapura. But this location cannot be established as correct. His report appears to be a mere travellers-tale and a second-hand report. Perhaps Hiuen Tsang never visited the area himself and has based his description on what all he heard from the populace.

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1. Op. Cit., p-70.
2. Cunningham, A., ASIAR, Vol-XIV (1878-79), p-138.
3. Smith, V.A., Op. Cit., p-161.
4. III, 102.

The *Tāleśwara* plates have been proved, beyond doubt, to be forgeries but they are earlier forgeries (not later than the 8th century and possibly as early as the 6th). They are supposed to have been issued from Brahmapura and contain the name Kārttikeyapura. In the latter half of the 9th century the *Pandukesar* plates were issued which contained the names of the kings. These kings have been mentioned in the *Bagesar*[1] stone inscriptions also. The value of these Taleśwara plates would be worthless if the forger could not have taken proper care to see that the description is geographically correct at least for the purpose for which they were fabricated—a claim to land.

During the early years of the 2nd and the 1st century B.C., their prominent centres of occupation would have been Kāśīpur, Bhikuli in Nainital and Almora districts and Joshimath in the Garhwal district. And as these places are of great antiquarian importance, it can be said with certainty that the Kuṇindas extended from Sutlej to Ganga and Jamuna sources and Kāśīpur in Nainital district to the Tibetan borders, during their early phase.

The other centre of this Katyur was Dwarahat. There are many temples of the 11th to the 13th centuries. They are definitely older than many of the extant remains at Baijnath. Proper investigation of the sites is expected to reveal a lot of historical facts not known to us about this kingdom.

Cunningham had noted, as we have discussed earlier, that the Kuṇinda coins were found mainly between Ambala and Saharanpur and therefore they occupied the hill-districts situated on both sides of the river Sutlej but this was long before the acceptance of the Almora coins as belonging to the Kuṇindas. The recent discoveries and also investigations and researches have proved that the tribe occupied extensive areas from the river Sutlej to the whole of Kumaon and Garhwal. Coins of this tribe have been found at many places in Kumaon after the discovery of the Almora coins. Powell Price considers that many coins of this tribe are in private hands in the Garhwal and Almora districts even today.[2] Kala has also confirmed the opinion of Powell Price.[3]

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1. JUPHS, Vol-XVIII (Jul, Dec—1945), Pts-I & II, p-220.
2. JUPHS, Vol-XVIII, (Jul, Dec—1945), Pts-I & II, p-220 ff.
3. Ibid., Vol-XXIII (1961), Nautiyal, K. P., p-379.

Menander and his successors, it appears, held Mathurā till 100 B.C. and the rise of the Kuṇindas in the plains, therefore, must be presumed to be after that. Ptolemy's idea of placing the Kuṇindas in and near the hills appears therefore justified in view of the fact that like the hill people of the present day they used the plains as grazing-ground for their cattle during the winter months.[1]

During the *Śaka* invasion when the *Greeks* were pushed out of *Mathurā*, the Kuṇindas extended their power down into the plains with which they were very much familiar from before. And when the *Kuṣāṇas* occupied the plains, the Kuṇindas retired back to their hills.

Hall,[2] while commenting on the *Sindhu-Pulindas*, noted that there were northern and southern *Pulindas*. It has been considered by K.P. Jayaswal[3] to be the modern *Povindah* clan of the *Afghans*. The form Kulinda, he considers, is also well attested as it represents Kuṇindas on the coins. It is just possible that in the early stage the Kuṇindas lived in the region of the north-west frontier areas.

There was a group of Indian Buddhist Kings—the *Mitras* or the *Śuṅgas Devas*, the *Kuṇindas* etc. who issued somewhat similar coins. They all began at approximately the time of the Greek dynasties of the Punjab and lasted until the time of the *Guptas*.[4]

From the above, it transpires that the dominion of the Kuṇindas who ruled over the sub-Himalayan territories including the present Kumaon and some portions of the plains from the 2nd century B.C. to the time of the Guptas, had been split up into various small kingdoms like Brahmapura and Govisana etc. Brahmapura and Govisana have been identified by Cunningham with a site in the vicinity of Kāśīpur.[5]

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[1] Powell Price, J.C. Op. Cit., p-216.

[2] Wilson & Hall's Viṣṇupurāṇa, Vol-II, p-159 (Notes).

[3] Jayaswal, K. P., Op. Cit., p-127.

[4] JUPHS, Vol-IV (1930), Pt-II, pp-7-14.

[5] Ibid.

4. COINAGE

The three silver coins illustrated by Allan[1] are supposed to be the earliest ones from *Kumaon*. Rapson and others have called them as *Almora-coins* on the basis of their *Brāhmī* legend and character of script. Altekar has assigned them to the 2nd century B.C. Powell Price[2] has considered their typology and has attributed them to the Kuṇindas. He has identified the animal on the obverse as the '*stag*' of Kuṇinda type and on the reverse he considers that the figure of the '*Bodhi-tree*' is embossed. He remarks:—

> '......these coins are of the same type as *Pāñchāla* coins found in *Rohilkhand* of the *Śuṅga* dynasty, which is dated about 176-66 B.C. by Rapson. There was a group of Indian Buddhist Kings—Mitras, Śuṅgas, Devas and Kuṇindas etc. with somewhat similar coins who began about the time of the Greek dynasties of the Punjab and lasted till the time of the Guptas.'

But the above identification of Powell Price has not been wholly accepted by K.P. Nautiyal,[3] primarily on the basis of the identification of the symbols.

Coins of the Kuṇindas fall into two main groups :—

1. **Amoghabhūti Type Coins**

   Issued about the end of the 1st century B.C.

2. **Chatreśvara Type Coins**

   Issued about the second century A.D.

1. The Amoghabhūti Type

It was usually believed that Amoghabhūti carved out a kingdom on the ruins of the *Indo-Greek* empire, about the end of the 1st century B.C. J.C. Powell Price[4] has considered the size, fabric and appearance of these coins to have been copied from the coins of the *Bactrian-Greeks*.

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[1] BMCAI, pp-lxxx and 120, pl-xiv, figs-7, 8, 9.

[2] JUPHS, Vol-IV (1930), Pt-II, p-7.

[3] JNSI, Vol-XXIII (1961), p-377.

[4] JUPHS, Vol-XVIII (Jul, Dec—1945), Pts-I & II, p-214.

The coins are of silver and copper both and are similar in type. The types of these coins are purely Indian but the module of the silver coins was suggested by the Hemidrachms of the later Greek kings.

The full legend on the coins of this group is :—

'*Rajñah* (*Raña*) *Kunindasa* (*or sya*) *Amoghabhūtisa* (*or sya*) *Mahārājasa* (*or sya*).'

2. The Chatreśvara Type

These coins are attributed to the Kuṇindas on the basis of their reverse pattern which is similar to their earlier issues. This attribution has been almost universally accepted. The obverse shows Śiva standing holding a trident. The legend they bear is :—

'*Bhāgavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ*'

Chatreśvara has been identified as *Śiva*.[1]

The word Chatreśvara has been considered to convey the following two meanings also[2] :—

1. Lord of Chatra or Chhatra—probably the Kuṇinda capital.
2. A contraction of its name—Ahichchhatra and Chhatravati.

Chatreśvara happens to be the tutelary deity of the tribe in whose name the coins were issued. These coins were issued after the fall of the Kuṣāṇas at the end of the 2nd or in the 3rd century A.D.

Many scholars misunderstood this legend. This series has many affinities with the coinage of the Yaudheyas.[3] Altekar considers this non-mention of the names of the rulers in the legend to be a definite proof of the fact that the tribe was incorporated with the Yaudheyas during this period. In support of this he says that this series ceases after about 250 A.D. and the name of the tribe does not appear on the Samudragupta's inscription at Allahabad.

This later series of the Kuṇinda coinage does not bear the name of a king. The coins bear the figure of Lord Śiva and

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1. AIU (1960), 3rd Impression, p-161.
2. Ibid.
3. JUPHS, Vol-XVIII (Jul, Dec—1945), Pts-I & II, p-214.

Kārttikeya like the coins of the Yaudheyas along with the legend. These coins have been found along with the coins of Apollodotus. Prof. Tarn[1] has provisionally dated Apollodotus to about 175 B.C. With this consideration in view and the Buddhist attributes on them, it can be inferred that they were minted after the Greek domination.

The legend '*Bhāgavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ*', which has been considered to be an Indian insignia of sovereignty, can also imply that the tribal state of the Kuṇindas at one time was dedicated to Lord Śiva in the 2nd century A.D. and the coins were issued in his name in the capacity of its sovereign ruler as we know that in recent times Travancore state was ruled by the rulers as substitute for Lord Padmanābhā and in the medieval times the kingdom of Mewar was also dedicated to Lord Ekliṅga who was the patron deity of the state.

The Kuṇinda coins miraculously disappear for about three centuries. At the end of the 2nd or the 3rd century A.D., we again find that the coins have been issued by a Kuṇinda republic. These issues are large pieces and their module is suggested by the Kuṣāṇa copper coins. The reverse of these later issues bears the old Kuṇinda type of the deer, tree, river etc. and the obverse bears a figure of Śiva holding a trident.

The suggestion about the time of the issue of the coins of both the categories does not appear to be improbable but the possibility of their having belonged to the same period, cannot be ruled out. The palaeographic evidence confirms that Amoghabhūti who had a very long reign can be assigned to the 2nd or the 3rd century A.D. Kharoṣthī legend and Greek module of his coins point to the existence of his power over territories where the coins of the Greek period were still in use.

Some of the coins of the Kuṇindas are large in size and some of them are small. The large coins are barbaric while the small ones are fairly and finely executed. The small coins remind us of the brilliant issues of the Indo-Bactrian kings. They are specimen of the art of that period. The portraiture, naturalism and execution of these coins are worth admiration. The small copper coins of the Yaudheyas are of rough workmanship but they have some resemblance with the earlier coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas.

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[1] 'The Greeks in India and Bactria', pp-165-66.

The subjects of the Kuṇindas who remained for about a hundred years under Indo-Greek domination had become accustomed to the use of silver-money and it was this fact which compelled the Kuṇindas to strike money in silver to meet their demand effectively. It was not issued merely to compete in the market with the later Greek silver.[1] All these pieces, however, have great resemblance among themselves. Allan remarks that he does not find any evidence to prove that they were issued over a long period.[2]

The exceptional neatness and their comparative scarcity, besides their fineness portray that the copper coins of class-2 represent the ordinary copper coinage of the reign. It is just possible that they might have been the imitations made by the early Kuṣāṇa invaders like the imitations of the coins of Hermaeus.

Copper coins of the Kuṇindas are similar in type to the silver coins but only a few of them have the double legends. There are 3 distinct sizes of the coins :—

1. The large ones—weighing up to 131 grains. They are the Paṇas of the Indian system.
2. The medium ones—weighing from 50 to 75 grains and are half paṇas.
3. The small ones—weighing up to 33 grains and are Kākaṇis or quarter paṇas.

Legends on the copper coins do not differ from that of the silver coins except on some pieces. The pieces with exception omit the word '*Rajnah*'. The remaining words have been arranged on them continuously around the coin instead of having the title of '*Mahārāja*', placed below the deer.

The 3 coins found in the Almora district which are now in the British Museum arouse much of interest. They contain some alloy of silver and are heavier than any other Indian coin of the period (between the 1st century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D.). The names of *Śivadatta* and *Śivapāli* (*ta* ?) are embossed on them.[1] On the reverse there is a Bodhi-tree similar to the Pāñchāla coins and on the obverse a stag which is the sign of the Kuṇindas. The designs are Buddhist.

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[1] Allan, J., Op. Cit., p-ciii.

[2] Ibid.

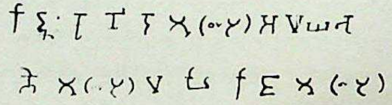
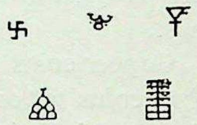
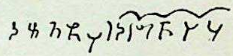
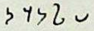
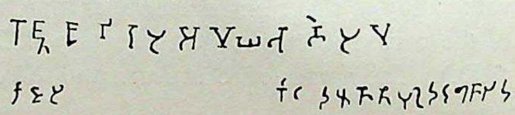
4. (a) A GENERAL CLASSIFICATION

All the silver coins of the Kuṇindas are similar in style and fabric. They appear to have been issued during the reign of one man. Economically the silver coins of the tribe portray the idea that an attempt might have been made by an Indian ruler to issue native silver coinage which could compete in the market with the later Indo-Greek silver.

AMOGHABHŪTI SILVER COINAGE

(1st century B.C.—Allan's Cat.)

Variety 'A'

S.No.	*Weight*	*Shape & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Deer to r. female figure (? Lakshmī) standing (sometimes on Lotus) facing holding flower in up-lifted r. hand. above back of deer. above horns of deer. below deer.  Rajñah Kuṇindasya (or sa) Amoghabhū-tisya (or sa) Mahārājasya (or sa).	  (Raña Kuṇindasa Amoghabhūtisa) around.  (Maharajasa) below.
1.	34.0	Round .7		

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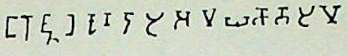
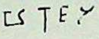
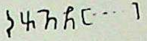
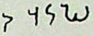
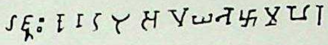
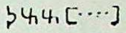
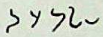
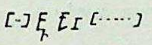
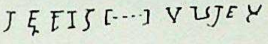
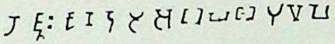
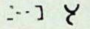
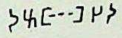
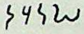
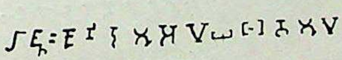
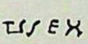
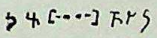
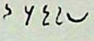
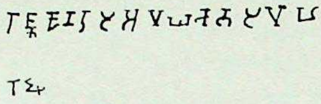
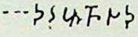
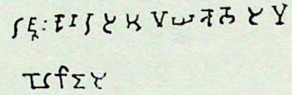
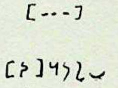
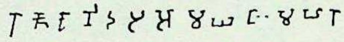
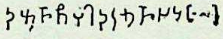
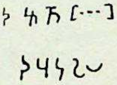
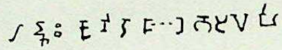
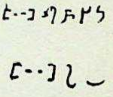
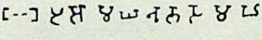
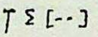
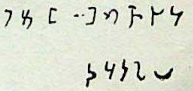
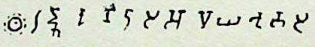
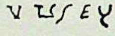
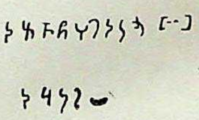
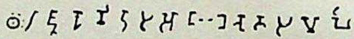
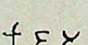
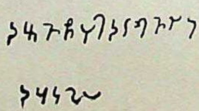
[1] History is silent about these two names.

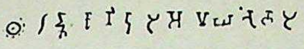
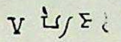
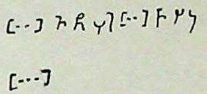
S. No.	*Weight*	*Shape & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
2.	29.2	.65	 	 
3.	29.0	.7	 	 
4.	32.7	Round .65		Traces of legend
5.	29.0	.65		,,
6.	30.0	.65	 	 

Variety 'B'

S. No.	*Weight*	*Shape & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	34.4	.7	As in variety 'A', but below deer and between deer and figure and for  	As in variety 'A'  

Variety 'C'

S. No.	*Weight*	*Shape & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	38.0	.7	As in variety 'A' but nothing below deer. 	
2.	34.0	.7		
3.	33.8	.65		
4.	22.7 Much worn	.65 Round	Traces of legend	
5.	30.8	.7	 [- - -]	
6.	34.5	.65	 	
7.	28.7	.65	 	
8.	34.6	.8	 	

S. No.	*Weight*	*Shape & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
9.	21.0 Much worn	.65	 	

Variety 'D'

S. No.	*Weight*	*Shape & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	26.5 Base	.65	As preceding, but below horse; traces of legend.	As preceding, traces of legend.

AMOGHABHŪTI SILVER COINS
(From Cunningham's CAI, plate-V, figs-1 & 2)

S. No.	*Weight*	*Shape & Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	34.0	.7	Deer to r. Buddhist symbol between horns, Chaitya between legs; symbol on back, to r. female figure holding flower towards deer. Indian legend (Rājña Kuṇindasa Amoghabhutisa Mahārājasa)	Chaitya surmounted by combined triratna and Dharmachakra symbols. Snake below; tree and Buddhist railing to r. Svastika and symbol to l. Arian legend (Rājña Kuṇindasa Amoghabhūtisa Mahārājasa)
2.	34.0	.7	Types and legends same as No. 1 but there is no Chaitya between the deer's legs.	—do—

SILVER COINS OF THE KUṆINDAS ILLUSTRATED IN SMITH'S CATALOGUE

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Source*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	33.8	.67	IM	Female with l. hand on hip, offering fruit with r. hand to a stag standing r. with a symbol between horns, square stūpa surrounded by umbrella above stag, mint-mark or disc surrounded by dots at hind-foot of stag, marginal Brāhmī legend perfectly preserved —[Amoghabhūtisa Mahārājasa rajño Kuṇi (n) dasa].	In centre, high six-arched Chaitya with umbrella; to r. conventional tree in railing; to l, Svastika and triangular headed symbol; above Nandipada symbol below snake—marginal legend in Kharoṣṭhī (Raña Kuṇindasa Amoghabhūtisa below Maharajasa)
2.	34.2	.68	ASB	Similar mint-mark, the same legend beautifully preserved.	Similar, Kharoṣṭhī legend below—Maharajasa.
3.	33.0	.71	IM	Similar, mint-mark the same but below the feet of the female, imperfect legend.	Similar legend. Imperfect.

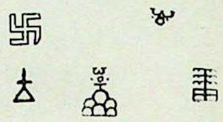
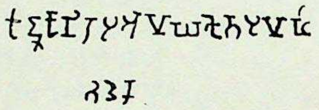
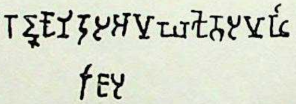
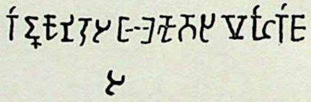
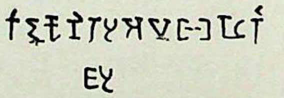
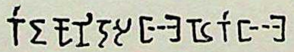
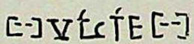
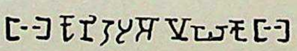
S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Source*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
4.	30.8	.71	ASB	Similar, minute mint-mark between female and stag, imperfect legend.	—do—
5.	30.8	.7	IM	Similar mint-marks, Svastika between stag's legs and Nandi-pada between stag and female, legend very imperfect.	Similar. Legend imperfect.
6.	31.6	.75	IM	Similar mint-mark, two short curved lines (? Snakes) between stag's legs, legend very imperfect.	—do—
7.	33.5	.75	IM	Similar to No. 6, mint-mark, a three - arched Chaitya with Umbrella between Stag's legs. Legend imperfect.	—do—
8.	33.0	.65	ASB	Similar mint-mark, a three-arched Chaitya without Umbrella between Stag's legs. Legend imperfect.	—do—

THE COPPER COINS OF THE KUṆINDAS

(From Allan's Cat.)

Class-1

Copper coins of this class bear neat fabric and have good legends on them. They are contemporary to the silver coins.

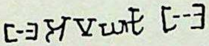
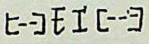
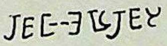
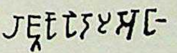
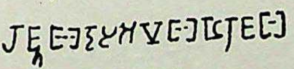
S. No.	Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Neat fabric with good legends. Deer r., Laxmī facing, holding flower  as in No. 1 above deer. above its horn  [Rajña(h) Kuṇindasa Amoghabhūt (i) sa Mahārājasa]	Border of dots. No legends.
1	58.0	.85		—do—
2	62.0	.75		—do—
3	46.0	.8		—do—
4	43.0	.75	Traces of legend	—do--
5	47.5	.7		—do—
6	46.5	.7		—do—
7	41.5	.7		—do—
8	42.0	.6	Traces of legend	—do—

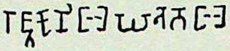
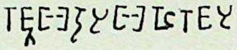
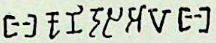
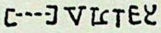
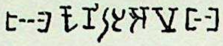
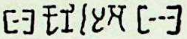
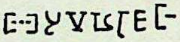
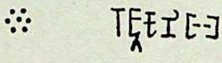
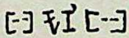
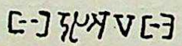
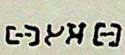
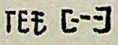
From Cunningham's CAI, Pl-V, Fig-3

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1	75	.8	Types same as silver coins Nos. 1 & 2, variety 'A' but Indian legend only on obv. Few larger ones have legends. Smaller without legend.	Same as the obverse of silver coins Nos. 1 & 2 of Variety 'A'.

Class-2

It appears that these class-2 copper coins which have a coarse fabric and which bear incomplete legends gave rise to the idea that this coinage was continued even after Amoghabhūti.

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Coarse fabric and very incomplete legend as class-1 but very fragmentary.	As in class-1
1	162.0	1.1	Traces of legend	—do—
2	130.0	.95	—do—	—do—
3	125.0	.9		—do—
4	102.5	.95	Traces of legend	—do—
5	120.0	.9	—do—	—do—
6	115.0	.95	—do—	—do—
7	125.0	.8	—do—	—do—
8	97.0	.9	—do—	—do—
9	110.0	.8	—do—	—do—
10	99.0	.85		—do—
11	95.0	.85		—do—
12	96.5	.8		—do—
13	70.0	.8		—do—
14	97.0	.8	Traces of legend	—do—
15	75.0	.7	—do—	—do—
16	94.0	.8	—do—	—do—
17	59.5	.8	—do—	—do—

S. No.	Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse
18	60.0	.8	Traces of legend	As in class-1
19	57.0	.9		—do—
20	55.0	.9		—do—
21	49.4	.9		—do—
22	66.0	.8		—do—
23	57.0	·75		—do—
24	46.0	.75		—do—
25	50.0	.7	Traces of legend	—do—
26	56.0	.7	—do—	—do—
27	47.0	.7	—do—	—do—
28	41.0	.65	—do—	—do—
29	44.0	.7	—do—	—do—
30	36.0	.6		—do –
31	42.0	.6	Traces of legend	—do—
32	41.0	.6	—do—	—do—
33	38.0	.5	—do—	—do—
34	37.0	.6	—do—	—do—
35	30.5	.6	—do—	—do—
36	35.0	.6		—do—
37	27.0	·65	Traces of legend	—do—
38	26.0	.75	—do—	—do—
39	24.0	.6	—do—	—do—
40	28.0	.55	—do—	—do—
41	25.0	.6		—do—
42	26.0	.55		—do—
43	22.0	.6		—do—
44	9.5	.5		—do—

Class-3

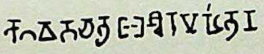
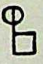
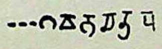
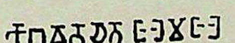
Copper coins of class-3 consist of 2 coins only. They are of larger diameter and have been rudely made. They have the types as the other coins bearing the name—Amoghabhūti, have. The legend on the obverse which is in two lines, occupies disproportionate amount of piece.

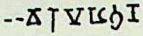
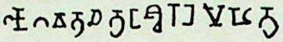
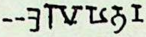
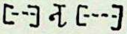
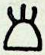
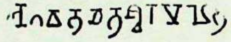
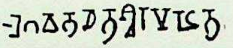
S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1	252.0	1.1	Type as in copper class-1, but small. The legend above in two lines occupies disproportionate share of area.	As in class-1
2	226.0	1.15		—do—

ANONYMOUS COPPER COINS OF THE KUṆINDAS

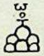
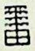
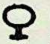
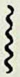
(Second century A.D.)

Variety-'A'

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Male figure (Śiva) standing facing, holding trident with axe on shaft in r. hand, flower or star behind, over his left shoulder.  [Bhāgavata Catı (?tu?kra) (...) Śvara-Mahāt-rana]	Deer l., above horns. behind, in front. below deer.  above below Border of dots.
1	277.0	1.0		—do—
2	265.0	1.0		Similar, but below deer.

S.No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
3	280.0	1.0		Similar with above
4	291.0	1.0		Similar to serial-1
5	289.0	1.0		—do—
6	249.0	.95		Similar but without
7	280.0	1.0	Traces of inscription	 below deer
8	131.0	.85		88 and star above deer
9	131.0	.85		—do—

Variety 'B'

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	212.0	1.0	As in variety 'A'. Traces of inscription.	Deer 1.  on r.  above   below.

Variety 'C'

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	274.0	1.0	As in variety 'A'. Traces of inscriptions.	Deer r. on l. on r.

THE CHATREŚVARA TYPE COINS

(Later than Amoghabhūti)

These coins belong to the 2nd century A.D. They have been issued by some anonymous ruler of the tribe. On the obverse we find the standing figure of Lord Śiva holding in his right hand a trident battle-axe. His left hand is resting on his hip from which hangs something. It is most probably a tiger-skin. His head is adorned with *Jaṭās* arranged in '*Jaṭābhāra*' manner.[1]

We find similarly arranged Jaṭās on the figure of Śiva carved on the *Śiva-liṁga* at *Gudimallam*. The legend is '*Bhāgavata Chatreśvava Mahātmanaḥ*'.

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Source*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	221.6	1.01	ASB	Śiva standing facing grasping trident battle-axe in r. hand, l. hand on hip, legend lost (it should be—Bhāgavataḥ Chatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ)	Stag standing l. Tree in railing r., six-arched chaitya and triangular headed symbol l., snake below and another above stag in poor condition.
2.	89.0	.95	ASB	Similar, almost defaced	Similar, much defaced, some symbols perhaps differ.

COPPER COINS OF THE KUṆINDAS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM

(As illustrated by C.J. Rodgers)

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	85.0	0.94	Deer to r., with woman attendant who holds a lotus over deer's head. Over the hind quarters of the deer is a peculiar	In circle a tree, snake chaitya, tri-ratna, svastika and round the coin in Bactrian Pālī, the

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[1] DHI, p-118.

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			symbol. Round the coin in Indian Pālī—'Rājña Kuṇindasa Amoghbhūtisa Maharajasa'.	same inscription as on the obverse.
2.	49.0	0.75	Poor, only a few letters of legend.	No margin, as above.
3.	46.6	0.7	—do— Under deer, a wheel.	—do—
4.	58.0	0.7	Poor, only a few letters of legend.	—do—
5.	35.0	0.65	Poor, only a few letters of legend. Top of letters cut.	—do—
6.	35.0	0.65	—do—	—do—
7.	48.0	0.75	—do—	—do—
8.	38.0	0.71	—do— (Worn)	—do— (Worn)
9.	36.0	0.65	—do— (no legends, 2 coins)	—do--(Poor)
10	32.5	0.6	—do—	—do—
11.	32.0	0.7	Very poor, only 4 letters of legend.	—do— Very poor.
12.	28.5	0.65	—do—	No margin, as above, very poor.
13.	27.0	0.6	Poor, but as far as 'Amu' of legend legible.	—do— (Full)
14.	27.0	0.65	As on serial No. 1	—do— (Poor)
15.	27.0	0.7	—do— Poor, 'Rajna Ku'	No margin (Poor)
16.	28.0	0.65	Few letters legible	—do— Tree upside down
17.	15.6	0.55	—do— No letters	—do—

S. No.	Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse
18.	177.0	0.95	—do—	As on serial No. 1
19.	67.0	0.75	—do—	—do—
20.	87.0	0.8	—do— Maharajasa only	—do— In a dotted circle
21.	40.0	0.7	—do— No legend	—do—
22.	29.0	0.6	Remains of deer only	Only snake, Taurus sign and M-2 and remains of letters.

OTHER COPPER/BRASS COINS OF THE KUṆINDAS

(As illustrated by Smith)

Variety 'A'

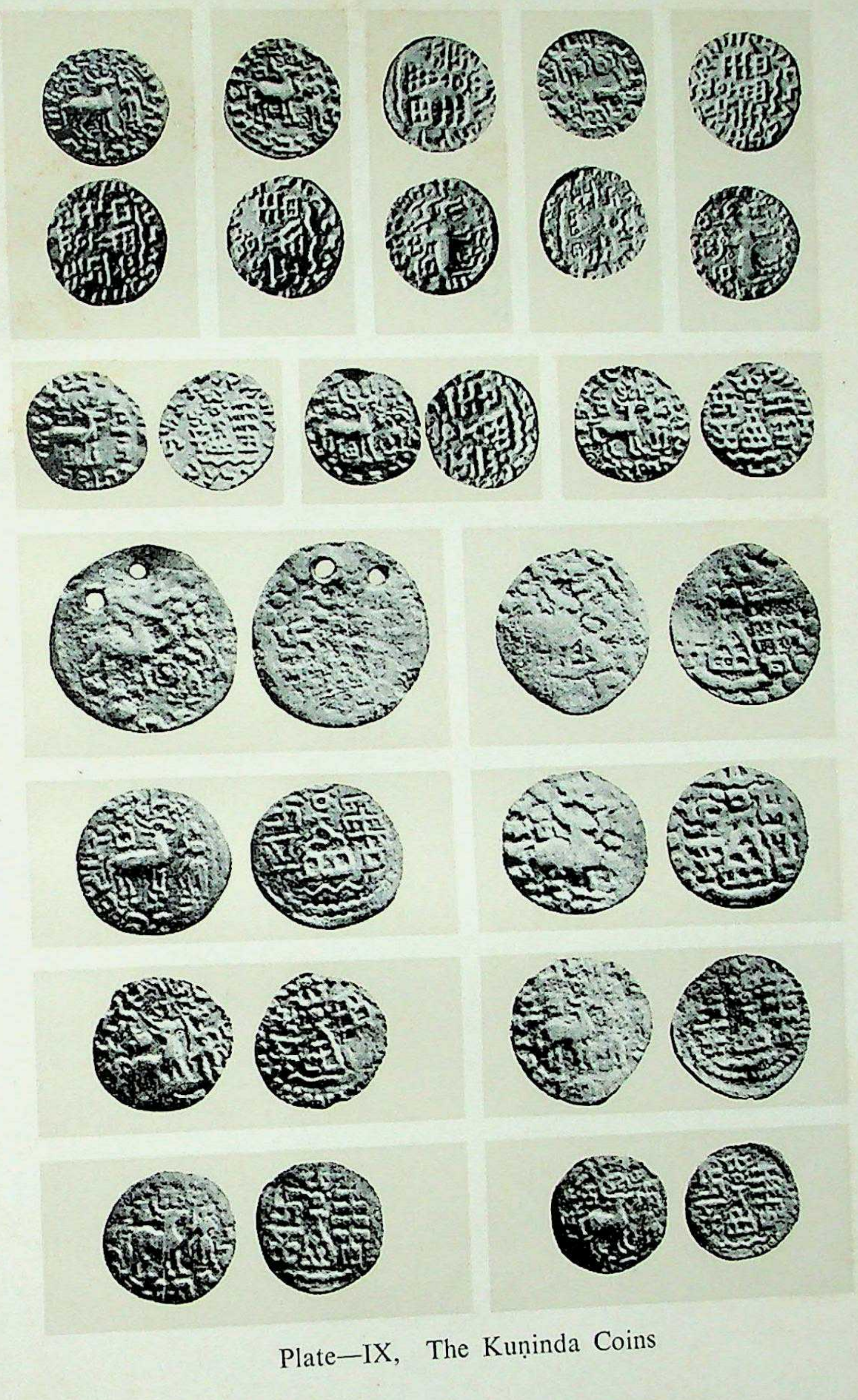
(With both Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī legends)

S. No.	Weight	Size	Source	Obverse	Reverse
1.	85.2	.95	IM	Device and legend as on silver coins but no mint mark, legend imperfect.	Traces of Kharoṣṭhī legend outside dotted circle, device as on silver coins, a fine broad piece.
2.	80.2	.72	ASB	Same as above but in very bad condition.	Same as above, but coarse and thick with a large protuberance, showing that the flan was cast. Mere traces of Kharoṣṭhī legend.

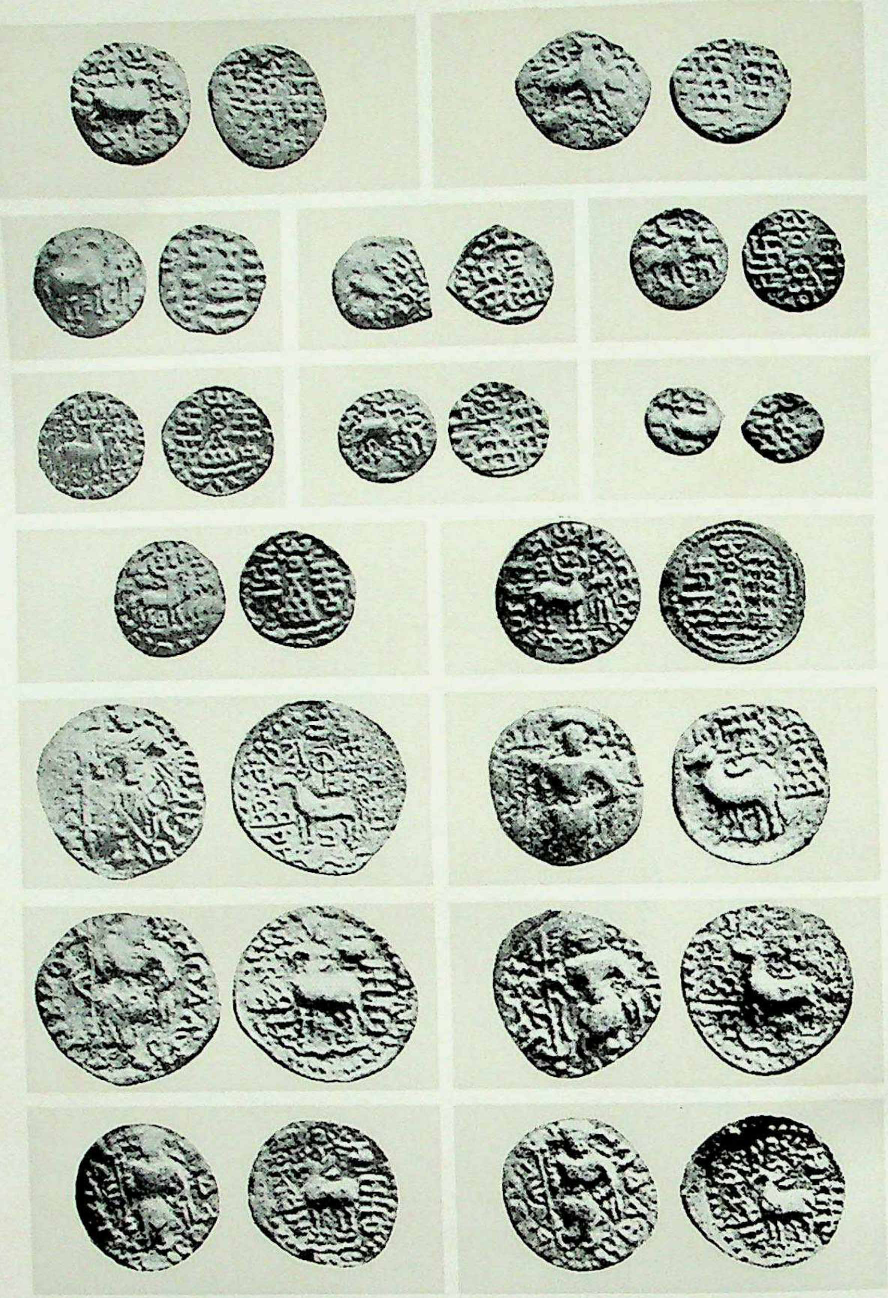
Variety 'B'

(With only Brāhmī legend)

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Source*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	131.0	.86 Brass	ASB	Device and legend as in variety 'A' but rude and imperfect.	Device as in variety 'A'. No legend. Thick clumsy coin. Worn.
2.	177.0	.95 Brass	IM	—do—	—do— Too much defaced.
3.	144.5	1.12 AE	IM	—do— Only small part of legend.	Device as above, fine, flat, well preserved coin of unusual diameter.
4.	95.6	.86 AE	ASB	—do— (rude)	—do— Rude piece with protuberance left by mould.
5.	113.7	.95 AE	ASB	—do—	—do— Flat and circular.
6.	122.0	.85 Brass	IM	—do—	—do— Thick clumsy piece.
7.	87.0	.8 AE	IM	—do—	—do—
8.	57.8	.77 AE	IM	—do—	—do—
9.	39.5	.78 AE	IM	—do—	—do—
10.	42.5	.73 AE	IM	—do— Vase in front of stag.	—do—
11.	41.0	.73 AE	IM	Device and legend as in variety 'A' but rude and imperfect, vase in front of stag.	Device as in variety 'A'. No legend, thick clumsy coin, worn.



Plate—IX, The Kuṇinda Coins



Plate—X, The Kuṇinda Coins

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Source*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
12.	48.2	.77 AE	IM	—do—	—do—
13.	45.7	.75 AE	IM	—do— Cross in circle below stag.	—do—
14.	52.3	.78 Brass	IM	—do—	—do—
15.	35.0	.67 AE	IM	do—	—do—
16.	24.8	.65 AE	IM	—do—	—do—
17.	26.5	.64 AE	IM	—do—	—do—
18.	28.2	.55 AE	ASB	—do—	—do— Cast in high relief.
19.	29.0	.62 AE	ASB	—do—	—do—

Variety 'C'

(Without any legend)

S. No.	*Weight*	*Size*	*Source*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
1.	99.75	.75 Brass	IM	Device as on silver coin. No legend.	Thick and clumsy.
2.	41	.75 AE	IM	Cross in circle before stag.	Thin.
3.	50	.65 AE	IM	—do—	Medium thickness.
4.	37	.68 AE	ASB	—do—	Thin.
5.	24	.65 AE	IM	—do—	—do—
6.	24	.6 AE	ASB	—do—	—do—

4. (b) PROVENANCE & TECHNIQUE OF MANUFACTURE

Coins of the Kuṇindas are found in large numbers in the country between *Ambala* and *Saharanpur*.[1] Their coins have been further found at the following places:—

1. Tappa Mewa

This is a place in the district of *Hamirpur* (Punjab). 54 silver pieces along with 21 silver coins were found here.[2]

2. Sunet

This is a village situated at a distance of 4 miles west of *Ludhiana* (Punjab). Two copper coins of the Kuṇindas along with 400 *Śaka* and *Kuṣāṇa* coins were found here.

3. Karnal

Karnal is situated between Delhi and Ambala on the G.T. Road. One coin of the Kuṇindas was found here.

4. Jwalamukhi

Jwalamukhi is situated at a dlstance of 224 miles from Delhi towards north. Three silver coins of this tribe along with 30 of Apollodotus were found here.[3]

5. Behat

Behat is an ancient site near Saharanpur situated in the present north-western Uttar Pradesh. Some coins of the Kuṇindas have been found here.

6. Sugh

Sugh is a place situated near *Buriya* on the western bank of the river Jamuna on the Ambala-Saharanpur road. This place has been identified with the *Srughna* of Hiuen-Tsang. Kuṇinda coins of Amoghabhūti type have been found in large numbers here along with the coins of the Greek King Apollodotus.

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[1] Cunningham, A., CAI, p-71.

[2] JPASB (1893), pp-11-12.

[3] ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-65.

S.C. Kala[1] has made a mention of some Kuṇinda coins in the possession of one Lala Manohar Lal of Śrınagar (Garhwal). As per the statement of the Lala, the coins were discovered in the year 1880, in village *Sumari*, which is situated just above the town of Śrīnagar which was the ancient capital of the Rājās of Garhwal. Similar coins were brought to Lala Manohar Lal from *Bhattisira* and *Devalgarh*, places situated near Śrīnagar. The villages named above where these coins have been found are within a radius of 10 miles. A reference of the above hoard of coins has been made by H.K. Raturi also.[2]

So far as the technique employed by the Kuṇindas for the manufacture of their coinage is concerned, we have to presume that they must have employed the technique of their other contemporaries namely, the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas, the Audumbaras and the Arjunāyanas. We have described the technique of the Yaudheyas vividly. Their coins were found at Sunet and the coins of the Kuṇindas also have been found at Sunet. We can infer from this also that both the Yaudheyas and the Kuṇindas might have been employing more or less the same technique.

4. (c) TYPES AND SYMBOLS

There is a great deal of controversy about identification of the figure of the animal found embossed on the Kuṇinda coins. Theobald and Thomas consider the animal to be Yak[3] but Smith and many others have considered it to be the figure of a stag. The semi-circular horns, tufted tail and the form of the knee-joints of the fore-legs of the animal suggest that it is an ox, buffalo or cow.

The figure of the symbol appearing below the *Svastika*, has been explained by Theobald as a begging-bowl and *Bajra* by S.K. Chakrabortty. But the suggestion of Furgusson about its being an altar, is actually acceptable.

The symbol at one of the hind-legs of the animal was considered to be only a mint-mark by Smith but it is probably a representation of the solar symbol.

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1. JNSI, Vol-VIII (1946), Pt-I, p-36.
2. ‘Garhwal Kā Itihās’ (Garhwālī Press, Dehradun), p-241.
3. JASB (1886), p-161.

Kala[1] has made a mention of some coins of the Kuṇindas which he came across in the collection of Lala Manohar Lal at Śrīnagar (Garhwal). This Śrīnagar is presumed to be the ancient capital of Garhwal kingdom. These coins are of the usual Stag or Deer variety but there is some peculiarity with them. The obverse bears the Deer facing a female with the usual symbol above the Deer but the Deer faces the left, instead of right.

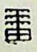
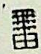
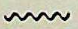
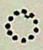
Obverse of the coins of the Kuṇindas have the following types and symbols :—

1. Deer.
2. Figure of Lakshmī with Lotus.
3. Cobra symbol between the horns of the deer.
4. Symbol ( ) above the back of the deer.

Four variants are distinguished by the introduction of the following additional symbols in the field between the Deer's legs :—

1. In variety 'A' coins—
2. In variety 'B' coins—
3. In variety 'C' coins—No such additional symbol.
4. In variety 'D' coins—

Reverse type bear the following symbols :—

1.
2.
3.  or 
4.
5.
6. 
7. 

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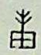
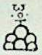
[1] JNSI, Vol-VIII (1946), Pt-I, p-36.

On the anonymous copper coins of the 2nd century A.D., we find the following new symbols :—

1. □
2.
3. 
4.
5. 

1. Deer (Stag)

Rapson[1] and Powell Price[2] have identified this figure of the animal as a Stag of the Kuṇinda type. But Allan,[3] however, describes it as Bull. The first coin completely depicts a Bull with a prominent hump. The other feature is its tail which is long like that of a Bull and not smaller one like a Deer. This is all about the first coin of the silver variety but scholars have taken the animal to be a Deer because of the fact that the next coin bears some different character—the horns are pointed and sharp but the hump of a Deer is nowhere seen.

W. Theobald[1] considers it to be the intention of the artist to represent a Deer with a tail superadded of an animal belonging to an entirely different section of ruminants. He has quoted the well known canon of Horace and has warned against adopting such supposition unless there is some genuine and strong evidence.

2. Lakshmī

In verse 82 of the *Mahāmāyuri*, a reference has been made about '*Yaksha Uṣṭrāpada*'. He is the special object of worship in the land of the Kuṇindas (Uṣṭrāpada Kuṇin desu). The word Uṣṭrāpada denotes a being either animal or human, with the feet of Camel and not a Camel—if we recognise the Yaksha Uṣṭrāpada in the animal represented on the Kuṇinda

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1. IC, p-11.
2. JUPHS, Vol-XVIII (Jul. & Dec. 1945), Pts-I & II, p-214 ff.
3. Op. Cit., LXXX and 120, pl-XIV, figs-7, 8 & 9.
4. JASB, Vol-LV, Pt-I, No. 3, p-161 ff.

coins then the attendant female figure alone may stand for Lakshmī.[1]

3. Cobra Symbol

Much has been said earlier about the universal respect for snakes because of the instinctive dread and terror for this scriptural enemy of mankind which gave rise to sacrificial worship by man.

The representation of two snakes facing one another has been considered by W. Theobald[2] to be an indication that the reptile is believed to associate in pairs. It is commonly believed that if one is killed it will not be long before its opposite sex will be found near the same place.

J.N. Banerjea[3] considers this symbol to be *Śrīvatsa* mark, and that the figure of Lakshmī and this mark jointly establish the identity of the Deer-device. In his opinion it is the theriomorphic representation of the goddess herself.

The first verse of the *Śrī-Sūkta*, a late supplement of the *Ṛgveda* contains the following description confirming the fact that the goddess Lakshmī was conceived also as a Deer, by the ancient Indian sages :—

'Hiraṇyavarṇāṁ hariṇīṁ Suvarṇarajatasrajām,
Chandrām hiraṇmayīṁ Lakshmīṁ Jatāvedo mamāvaha.'

'The Ṛṣi invokes *Agni* to bring to him the moon (like) golden (goddess) Lakshmī who is a golden coloured deer (adorned with) gold and silver garlands.' The deer is proverbially swift moving and restless and so is the goddess of fortune and wealth, who is usually described in Indian literature as '*Chanchala*' (fickle, restless).

4. &

The three-arched mountain symbol with crescent shown below the deer and the six-arched hill-device below the Nandipada Triśūla symbols on the reverse (both) signify mount *Meru*[4] in this context, may have subtle reference to the king's desire for ensuring the stable residence of the goddess in his realm.

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[1] DHI, p-134.
[2] JASB, Vol-LV, Pt-I, No. III, p-167.
[3] JNSI, Vol-XXII (1960), p-45.
[4] Ibid.

5. Svastika

This is a sacred sign of great antiquity. It has been respected from the very remote past in India. We know that the Yaudheyas gave a lot of religious importance to this symbol and they also had adopted it as a symbol on their coinage.

6. Nandipada

This is the figure of the foot-prints of *Nandin*, the vāhana of Lord Śiva about which we have discussed in the previous chapters.

7. Tree in railing

or

This symbol is found on both punch-marked coins and the die-struck coins belonging to the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas and others.

A vertical shaft comes up from some sort of railing or altar. The top section is intersected by four parallel horizontal lines which project on either side of this main shaft. From these side-projections hang short stumpy objects at regular intervals in 4 rows.

J.N. Banerjea confuses the correct identification of the object by considering it to be a schematic representation of garlands or wreaths on page 45 of his article[1] and identifying the same object as the '*Indradhvajasaṁpat*', a royal insignia on page 46 of the same article. This insignia has been graphically described by Varāhamihira.[2] This *Dhvaja* is supposed to have been given by Viṣṇu to Indra for achieving victory over the Asuras.

Cunningham is silent about this object. V.A. Smith calls it 'a conventional tree within railings' and Allan has given a line-drawing of it without naming it at all.[3]

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1. JNSI, Vol-XXII (1960), p-45.
2. Bṛhatasaṁhitā (S. Dvivedi's Ed.), Chap-42.9.10.
   प्रीतो महेन मघवी प्राहैवम् य नृपाः करिष्यन्ति ।
   वसुवद वसुभततस्ते भूवि सिद्धज्ञा भविष्यन्ति ।।
   गर्दताः प्रभाश्च तेषाम् भय रोग विवरजिताः प्रभूतान्नाः
3. Op. Cit., p-159.

S.K. Chakrabortty[1] thinks that this figure represents a Pine tree on the Kuṇinda coins. He says :—

> 'The Kuṇinda tree seems to be a pine tree and the representation is conventional—the branches are arranged in three-four rows and sometimes the leaves are represented by lines looking downwards.'

In Kumaon the Deodar and Pine trees are supposed to have been used as devices on the coins. Deodar had got some religious significance also. In Skandapurāṇa, Almora is known as '*Darukabana*' where Śiva is believed to meditate in complete solitude.[2] Both the Pine and the Deodar trees were used as devices because the Pine signified the dynastic symbol of the Kuṇindas while the Deodar carried a hill-importance.

But the above conjecture does not appear to be realistic. It cannot be a pine tree as Chakrabortty considers. Pine is a coniferous tree, the circumference of the area covered by the scattered branches tapers like a cone at the top. The branches nearest to the root (about 4 to 10 feet above the ground) stretch in all directions, while the upper branches and the leaves have a general upward tendency. The figure on the coins does not conform to the actual shape of a Pine or Deodar as all the three or four branches horizontally stretching towards left and right are equal from top to bottom.

The elevated place marked with the depiction of the square altar is generally figured to show reverence to anything placed on it. Such esteem cannot be attached to a tree like a Deodar or Pine though they could be of dynastic significance or portray hill-importance.

The other figures appearing along with this symbol are the Svastika, Nandipada, the Buddhist symbol, the chaitya etc., which are all objects of religious importance and therefore this tree also must be of religious significance especially because it is situated on an altar.

Besides the above the triangular shape of the objects hanging downwards from the horizontal bars and their being geometrically equidistant suggests that these objects are not leaves as

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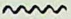
1. JPRAS, Vol-II (1936), p-60.

2. Atkinson, E.T., 'The Himalayan Districts of North-West Provinces', p-302.

natural things never have geometrical uniformity. We have known about a tree on the coins of the Audumbaras (Cunningham, CAI, pl-IV, fig-2 Obverse) which gives a realistic appearance of a tree but this figure does not have any bearing of a tree at all and therefore the suggestion of J.N. Banerjea is acceptable mainly because the Indian banners have always been universally triangular in shape and they can be fixed to a horizontal or vertical pole at distances aesthetically appealing.

8.

This is an emblem peculiar to the Buddhists This figure appears on the coins of the Audumbaras also. Prinsep describes it as *Jayadhvaja*.[1]

9. 

This solitary zig-zag line depicts a snake of course, but not a Cobra. It appears to be another type of reptile, popularly known as Asiatic Python.[2] Theobald possesses a copper coin in which the serpent depicted is not extended at length (as figured above) below the *Chaitya*, rather it is shown entering into it (Chaitya) from beneath. It appears that the Chaitya has been selected as its abode. We know from mythology that some other countries also have legends narrating that the snakes lived in some shrines or temples.

S.K. Chakrabortty[3] has considered this symbol to generally represent a river. In the case of the coins under reference (Kuṇinda's) he suggests that it must have been used by them simply for ornamentation. Besides the above, he infers that this symbol (if used as representing a river) depicted the area (valley, doab etc.) of some river.

10.

This border of dots can be considered to have been embossed for the purpose of giving a border in the margin of the coins and to decorate and ornament the inscriptions in the field.

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[1] JASB, Vol-IV, p-628.

[2] JASB, Vol-LV, Pt-I, No. III, pp. 161-69.

[3] JPRAS, Vol-II (1936), p-56.

11.

This symbol appears to be a figure of vase with flower or leaves to depict the idea of sanctity.

4. (d) PALAEOGRAPHY OF COIN-LEGENDS

Some of the earliest coins of the Kuṇindas bear legends repeated in Kharoṣṭhī character but usually the legends are in ancient form of Brāhmī script. The silver coins of this tribe bear the legends on both sides and in both Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. The Prākṛt legends in Brāhmī have been used on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse. The dialect of the obverse is more closely allied to Sañskrit than the dialect of the reverse. In the genitive of their legends we find one thing curious and it is the indiscriminate use of '*Sa*' and '*Sya*'.

The earliest coins can be distinguished by Buddhist symbols only in addition to the name of Kuṇindas, but the later coins have the trident and battle-axe of Śiva and not the tribal name.

The stag-type coins with the name of Amoghabhūti are older than the anonymous coins exhibiting the image and title of Lord Śiva. These Śiva type coins are very rare. Cunningham[1] says that the copper coins of the Kuṇindas are occasionally inscribed on both sides but the British Museum does not possess any coin of this type.

The legends on the neater copper coins and the silver coins are :—

'*Rājñah* (*rāña*) *Kuṇindasa or* (*sya*) *Amoghabhūtisa* (*or sya*)
Mahārājasa (*or sya*).'

All the silver coins are inscribed on both sides. The legend on the obverse is in Indian Pālī characters while the legend on the reverse is in Arian Pālī character. The copper coins are similarly inscribed on both sides but the greater number have only one legend in Indian Pālī letters.

Brāhmī legends on these coins run continuously round the coin. '*Maharajasya*' is written independently in the exergue on the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī. The remainder runs round the coin. This arrangement suggests that special importance is given to the word—'Mahārāja'. It has been allotted just the same space which is occupied by the king's name on the Greek and the Śaka coins. But there is nothing similar to them so far as the obverse is concerned.

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[1] ASIAR, Vol-XIV, p-138

Thomas[1] published a paper in 1865 ('Identity of Xandrames and Krananda) in which he proposed the reading of '*Kanandasa Amogha-Bratasa, Maharajasa*' to mean—'(Coin) of the great king, the king Krananda, the brother of Amogha'.

In the 'Academy'[2] of November, 1874, another reading was published and in 1875 the subject was taken up by Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra. He proposed an altogether new reading—'*Rājñah Kunandasa Amogha Bhatisa Maharajasa*' to mean 'of the great king Kuṇinda, of unflinching faith'.

So far as the legend on the Chatreśvara type of coinage is concerned, there is a lot of controversy about its interpretation. The original legend has been read by most of the scholars as '*Bhāgavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ*'.

The name Chatreśvara has been considered to be the name of some Kuṇinda King by some scholars.[3] John Allan is silent on the subject. Banerjea[4] has translated the above legend as 'of the holy or worshipful one, the noble souled lord of Chatra'.

In the opinion of Sircar, *Chatra* or *Chhatra* was, most probably, the name of Kuṇinda capital. It could be the contraction of the name for the purpose of writing but this suggestion is not convincing. Chakrabortty has translated the legend as—'of Almighty Mahādeva, the lord, i.e. the coin dedicated to lord Maheśvara'.[5] He has considered them, therefore, to be dedicatory pieces. This view of Chakrabortty can be considered to have some nearness to the truth. It is preferable to style them as commemorative coins.

The word—'*Bhāgavataḥ*' means 'Worshipful' and the words '*Mahātmān*' and '*Chatreśvara*' are the names of the god which indicate his two aspects. The legends have not been inscribed in the usual genitive. This clarifies that the coins have not been issued in the name of Śiva who is supposed to be the

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1. JRAS (New Series), No. 8, Vol-I, p-447.
2: 21st November, 1874.
3. 'The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age', p-28; cf. also Chattopadhyaya, S., 'Early History of North India', p-133.
4. DHI, p-118, fn-1, JNSI, Vol-XIII, Pt-I, p-163, fn-2.
5. AIN, p-161.

temporal ruler of the tribe. These Chatreśvara coins must have been issued to commemorate their independence and to thank their God. The Kuṇindas had most probably attributed their independence to Lord Śiva. The word Chatreśvara means lord of Chhatra (royalty or independence). The Kuṇindas remembered lord Śiva as the bestower of Chhatra or royalty.

5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE PEOPLE AS GLEANED FROM THEIR COINAGE

The Kuṇindas were a contemporary tribe of the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and the Audumbaras and the Arjunāyanas. And therefore, their social and economic conditions must have been more or less similar.

We know that the Yaudheyas had joined the Kuṇindas to form an alliance with them for the purpose of driving out the Kuṣāṇas. They had succeeded in achieving their aim. It appears that this community also was martial as the Yaudheyas could not have preferred to ally with them for war-like purposes had they not been so.

So far as the economic situation of the tribe is concerned, we can infer from their silver coinage that they were having a sound economic condition; comparatively more sound, of course, than the Mālavas who could not introduce silver-money at all.

In the known ancient Indian historical events, we do not find any other instance when this tribe might have indulged in any military engagement. This must have facilitated a peaceful and prosperous economy for a considerably long time.

Unlike the Yaudheyas who remained fighting battles for a long time, leaving their home and hearth so often for the preservance of their independence (that they have been misunderstood to be a migratory tribe), we do not find the Kuṇindas in such situation. They had a stable type of living which must have resulted in self-sufficiency and abundance as they were free from any danger to their democratic existence and must have resorted to devising better ways of living.

The lavishness of religious symbols on their coins (we come across at least 6 of them on the reverse of a single Amoghabhūti silver coin) further portray their peaceful living. Besides that they depict their religious tendencies. We know that inclination towards divinities to such a great extent is possible only in a very tranquil situation. The absence of the figures of the Battle-axe, Triśūla, the warlord Kārttikeya etc. also reveals that they did not face any military problem. The only instance known to us about their being indulged into warfare, is their alliance with the Yaudheyas and the Arjunāyanas for the purpose of driving out the Kuṣāṇas.

The territory occupied by this tribe was fertile and must have yielded sufficient food. Irrigation must have been done from the waters of the rivers, rivulets and narrow streams coming down from the home of the perpetual snow, the Himalayas. They had thus a permanent source of effortless irrigation facility.

The climatic conditions prevailing in the Garhwal and Kumaon districts which formed the tribal territory of the Kuṇindas must have been congenial to both moral and material progress.

Conclusion

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE REPUBLICS UNDER REVIEW

We find the prevalence of republican form of government in India from the Vedic period as the miraculous word '*Gaṇa*' is mentioned even in *Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda*. The Ṛgveda is the oldest recorded history of India—nay of the world. Of course, the connotation and denotation of the word Gaṇa has undergone various changes as regards its evolution, development and meaning.

The word *Gaṇa* implies 'the sense of thoughts' in reference to *Maruts* and Gods in general.[1] This term has been mentioned 22 times in the Ṛgveda and 4 times in the Atharvaveda. In the Ṛgveda,[2] we come across a prayer in which *Brahmanaspati* has been invoked as '*Gaṇānāṁ Tvā Gaṇapatiṁ*' and '*Jyeṣtha Rājaṁ*' meaning 'lord and leader of Heavenly Hosts and King Supreme (of prayers)'[3] respectively. And thus we may justly presume that the Vedic Āryans might have been familiar with organised bodies of people, Gaṇas, living under many leaders or kings-*Rājanah* of whom one was the *Jyeṣtha-Rāja*, that is king supreme.

At another place in the *Ṛgveda*[4] we find '*Rājanah-Samitaviva*' which has been explained by *Śāyana* as 'kings in *Samiti*'. And as such the term clearly shows that there was a political organization having a Samiti or popular assembly as well as many Rājās as leaders.

In the *Atharvaveda*[5] too, we find the words Gaṇa and *Mahā-Gaṇa* used in the sense of hosts. Thus we can say that there existed possibly groups—tribal groups who lived and organised political life not under any one king or leader but under several kings. It is therefore rightly suggested that villages must have enjoyed corporate life with all the functions of an autonomous body. Gaṇas must have been organised groups with popular assemblies i.e. *Samiti* and *Rājās* as leaders. This we can say safely in support of republican form of government in opposition to monarchical form.

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[1] Sinha, H.N., 'Development of Indian Polity', p-27.
[2] Bk-II, 23. 1
[3] Sinha, H.,N, Op. Cit., p-27.
[4] Bk-X, 97.6.
[5] Bk-XIX-22, 16 & 17.

The best illustrations of Gaṇas are found in the *Mahābhārata* (Chapter 107 of the Śāntiparva) where Gaṇas are referred to as an organisation of assembly-government or Republic Gaṇas who were remarkable for their successful foreign policy, for their full treasury, for their war-like preparations, for their skill in war, for their praiseworthy laws and for their discipline. The governing bodies consisted of the *Gaṇa-Mukhyas* and *Pradhānas* (Chiefs and Presidents) who were entrusted with the charge of conducting the affairs of the community.[1]

In the *Manusmṛti*, the term Gaṇa is mentioned and this has been interpreted by various scholars in more than one sense.

The Greek writers describe the *Kathaians* as one of the most powerful nations of India. According to Strabo, amongst them 'the handsomest man is chosen as King'.[2] Not only the Kathaians opposed and fought against Alexander but many independent Indian nations or republics on the banks of Rāvī, opposed him.[3] Amongst these republican states the name of the Yaudheyas is most prominent who fought stubbornly against Alexander. The actual government of the Yaudheyas vested in what the Greeks called, an aristocracy.[4]

The Bharatpur inscription[5] contains a mention about the elected President of the Yaudheyas. He was given the title of *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati*. On their coinage also they have referred themselves as Gaṇas—'*Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jayaḥ*'. The administrative machinery was comprised of the representatives of all castes. The votive tablets discovered at Ludhiana support the fact that they were actually tribal oligarchies.[6]

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1. Mbh., Śāntiparva, 107.23.
2. Strabo, XV.30.
3. Arrian, V.21.
4. Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., p-61.
5. Fleet, J.F., CII, Vol-III, p-251.
6. Sinah, H.N., Op. Cit., p-177.

The words '*Dvi*' and '*Tri*', found on their coinage indicate that there existed a confederation also in about c. 200 A.D., when the Kuṇindas and the Arjunāyanas joined them. The foreign and military affairs probably remained centrally controlled by a council of Presidents of these republics who were designated as *Mahārāja-Mahāsenāpati*.

Like the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas also had a republican form of government. According to Kauṭilya, they were having a government whose members adopted the title of king. The Mandsor inscription of Yasodharma contains the legend '*Gaṇasthiti Vasāti*', which has been interpreted by Fleet to mean 'from the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas'. This reveals the organisation of the tribe under republican constitution.

Every member of the republic had a direct franchise. There was no elected King-consul but they had a second chamber the members of which were elected. They had confederated with the Kshudrakas during Alexander's invasion and had decided to entrust the charge of commanding their combined armies to one General. Their treaty which was concluded with Alexander was negotiated by their representatives who must have been elected members of the governing body of the republic.

The chiefs were elected, who, sometimes, became hereditary. The head of the state used to be called a *Netā*. Hereditary tendencies of leadership among the Mālavas made the position of these Netās very strong but it depended much upon his individual capability and personality. He was the commander of the tribal army during wars and was the executive and judicial head during peace. A council of ministers advised him in the performance of his duties (which had six members).[1]

The Audumbara Republic had an elective king. The tribe was republican.[2] The word Mahādeva occurring on the coins of this tribe has been considered as a regal title by Allan. They were devotees of Lord Śiva and had great reverence for him. A form of representative type of government is also presumed to have prevailed in this tribe in the name of Lord Śiva. This is revealed from the study of the legends—'*Bhāgavata Mahā-*

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[1] Amarakoṣa, II, 8.4-5.

[2] Jayaswal, K.P., Op. Cit., pp-153-54.

devasa Rāja Raña Oduṁbarisa' besides the figure of Trident on their coinage. Chakrabortty has deciphered the whole legend to mean—'in the name of the Almighty Mahādeva, the King of Kings'.[1]

Of course, after some time, the dynasty became inclined towards monarchical form of government. The *Mitra* kings are believed to be responsible for the downfall of democratic traditions of this tribe.

The Kuṇindas, likewise, had a republican administration. They had a central assembly, the members of which had the title of King. *Kauṭilya* has referred to them with the term—'*Rājaśabdopājīvinaḥ*'. Their coinage bear the legend—'*Rājñah Kuṇindasya Amoghabhūtisya Mahārājasya*', which testifies the prevalence of such system of government.

This legend '*Amoghabhūti*' is borne on their coins for centuries. It cannot thus be the name of one King or Chief whose usual tenure of office cannot extend up to such a long duration. Jayaswal appears to be justified in deciphering the above legend to mean—'*of Unfailing Prosperity*'.

The other legend embossed on the coins of the Kuṇindas is '*Chatreśvara*' which has been taken to mean that this tribal state was, at one time, dedicated to *Lord Śiva* as his figure also appears on the coins.

At any rate, modern India may take pride in the fact that though the country did not have purely democratic governments in the present sense of the term, governments by discussion were prevalent in ancient Indian civilization.

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[1] Chakrabortty, S.K., AIN, p-161.

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INDEX

A

A Bibliography of the Hoards of the Punch-marked Coins, 26
Abhimanyu, 70
Ābhiras, 89, 150, 177, 277
Abhisaras, 79
Abisares, 219
Abhor, 89, 128
Abreas, 159
Abstanoi, 46
Abu Rihan, 222
Acensoni, 45
Achaemenid, 210
Achaemenians, 41
Ādiparva, 65
Adhya, G.L., 41
Admerā, 218
Adrastais, 46
Adrestaisor, 46
Adrsotae, 46
Advanced History of India, 33
Adyāh, 89
(The) Aegean Civilization, 138
Aegis, 263
Aelian, 60
Afghan(s), 281
Afghanistan, 45, 55, 60, 61, 143, 151
Agathocleia, 37
Agathocles, 35, 36, 56
Agathukleasa, 56
Age of Imperial Unity, 65, 283
Agesinoe, 45
Agni, 124, 221, 306
Agraśreṇis, 45
Agrawala, R.C., 85, 96
Agrawala, V.S., 96
Āgreya, 176
Agrodaka, 84, 234, 235
Agroha, 84, 97
Ahāra, 165
Āhata-mudrā, 24
Ahichhatra, 96, 283
Ahirs, 135, 146
Ahmedabad, 175, 179
Aila, 67
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 136, 165
Ajami, 254
Ajamita, 240
Ajamitasa, 254, 265
Ajamitra, 243, 251, 254, 255
Ajamitrasa, 255
Ajantā, 214
Ajmer, 61, 170, 179
Ajudhan, 128
Ajudhana, 72, 89
Ajudhiyas, 72
Akara, 178
Akbara, 73, 222, 232, 235
Akesines, 180
Akshadarśaka, 173
Alberuni, 90
Allahabad, 77, 89, 115, 123, 129, 154, 283
Allahabad pillar inscription, 69, 81, 85, 150, 214, 219, 273
Allakappa, 44
Allan, J., 25, 28, 31, 80, 92-95, 97, 99-100, 103-104, 110, 115, 117-118, 122-123, 125-126, 128, 143, 151, 154, 179, 185, 210, 223-225, 229, 234, 236-238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 256, 258, 260, 262, 264, 266, 267, 268, 270, 273, 278, 282, 285, 292, 305, 307, 311, 316

Alloy, 285
Almora, 88, 280, 282, 285, 308
Altekar, A.S., 50, 69, 88, 137, 148, 179, 225, 239, 274, 282, 283
Altekar, A.S. & Majumdar, R.C., 74, 84
Alexander (the Great), 28, 31-34, 42-43, 45-46, 54, 69, 72-73, 76-79, 82, 88, 150, 152-153, 155-161, 171, 173, 176, 179, 206, 211-212, 219, 222, 315, 316
Alexandria, 32, 33
Alwar, 88, 90
Amarakoṣa, 24, 40, 41, 172, 316
Amarasiṁha, 24, 172
Amātya, 173
Ambala, 233, 278, 280, 302
Ambaṣthas, 46, 66, 68, 148-149, 176
Amogha, 311
Amoghabhatisa, 55, 311
Amoghabhūti, 55, 100, 137, 265, 275, 276, 277, 282, 284, 286, 289, 293, 295, 297, 302, 310, 312, 317
Amoghabhūtisa, 283, 286, 289, 290, 292, 298, 310
Amoghabhūtisya, 275, 286, 317
Amogha-Bratasa, 311
Amritsar, 45
Ana, 211
Anam, 211
Ānam, 211
Ānandapura, 178, 213
Ānanda Saṁvat, 161
A-nan-to-pu-to, 178
Ancient Geography of India, 72, 73, 89, 157
Ancient Hindu India, 213
Ancient India (Camb.), 34, 220
Ancient Indian Chronology, 163
Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature, 82
Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, 68
Ancient Peoples of the Punjab, 151, 219
Andhakas, 153
Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi, 44, 45
Andhra, 50
Aniketos, 37
Añjana, 63
Ant-gold, 60
Antialkidas, 34, 37
Antimachus I, 36
Antiochus Theos, 32
Anu, 67
Anvas, 67
Aparājita, 56
Apara-Mālava, 178
Apisali, 180
Apollodotus, 56, 219, 235, 242, 264, 265, 284, 302
Apte, V.S., 225
Arachosia, 32
Aramaic, 143
Arbudā, 89, 177
Araṭṭas, 47
Ardha-Kārṣāpaṇa, 22
Ardha-Māśaka, 22
Argentic Signati, 28
Argesinoe, 45
Aria, 32
Arian Pāli, 218, 310
Aristas, 46
Arjuna, 70, 149, 272
Arjunāyanas, 47-49, 55, 62, 74, 79, 81, 85, 92, 107, 150, 182, 235, 256, 303, 312, 313, 316
Armoured Corps, 77
Arṇyam, 136
Arnos, 161
Arrian, 34, 46, 72, 82, 150, 153, 155, 160-161, 171, 211-212, 219, 221, 234, 315
Arthaśāstra, 30, 43, 59, 61, 67, 83, 174, 212
Arunā, 135
Āryans, 27, 136, 154, 273, 314

Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa, 178, 232
Āryamita, 240
Āryamitra, 241, 244, 251
Āryamitrasya, 265
A Saṅskrit-English Dictionary, 225
Asata, 250
Asia Minor, 17
Asiatic Python, 309
Aśoka, 28, 32, 33, 47, 209, 225
Aśokan, 32, 143, 211, 266
Aspavarman 264,
Assodioi, 72
Aṣṭadhyāyī, 43, 221
Asura(s), 307
Aśvaka, 42' 48, 55, 62
Aśvalāyana Gṛhasūtra, 138
Aśvamedha, 50, 137
Aśvamedha Yajña, 70
Aśvapati, 148
Aśvattha, 216, 217
A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, 64, 195, 205, 226, 240
A Study of History, 68
Atakataka, 31
A-ta-li, 178, 212
Atari, 157
Atkinson, E.T., 274, 278
Atharva Veda, 20, 136, 314
Athena, 33
Athenian, 33, 54
Audumbaras, 18, 48-49, 55, 62-64, 92, 207, 215, 217-240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 249, 250, 251, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 285, 303, 307, 309, 312, 316
Audumbarī, 237, 266, 267
Aurangabad, 232
Avantī, 89, 153, 167, 170, 177-178, 180
Awasthi, A.B.L., 66
Ayas, 61
Ayek, 156
Ayodhanam, 72
Ayodhyā, 70, 140, 160, 262
Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83
Āyudhajīvin, 170, 173
Āyudhajīvin Saṁgha, 43, 67, 150, 172
Azes I, 168
Azilises, 220, 235, 249, 263

B

Bacilean, 57
Bacileus, 57
Bactria, 32, 75
Bactrian, 24, 54, 297
Bactriana, 24
Bactrian Greeks, 32, 282
Baḍwā, 162, 164
Bāgarīs, 73, 77
Bāgardeśa, 73
Bāgari Rao, 73
Bagesar stone inscription, 280
Baghaula, 108
Bairam Khan, 222
Bahawalpur, 76, 89, 90, 143
Bāhlikas, 149, 153, 229
Bahudhānaka, 108, 128, 144
Bahudhānake (Ke), 108, 128, 131, 146
Bahudhānyaka, 88, 109, 131, 132
Bahudhānyke, 128
Baijnath, 273, 274, 280
Bajana, 90
Bajpai, K.D., 183-184
Bajra, 303
Bālagraha Chikitsā, 96
Balarāma, 35
Balbana, 75
Baluchistan, 46
Bamla, 132
Bāṇa, 207, 213
Bāṇabhaṭṭa, 145
Banaras, 22
Banerjea, J.N., 94, 97, 239, 261, 276, 306, 307, 309, 311
Banerjee, P., 117

Banerji, A.C., 67, 248, 274
Banerji, R.D., 238-239, 243, 251, 261, 266, 268
Barabanki, 164
Barclay Head, 33
Barhat, 278
Barṇala, 162
Baroda, 175, 179
Barya, 274
Bāsamatī, 88
Basham, A.L., 168
Basarh, 258
Batanagara, 232, 234-235
Baṭavṛksha, 257
Bathanagara, 234
Batner, 73
Barygaza, 61
Bayānā, 75, 90
Beas, 46, 73, 88, 155, 229, 230, 232, 238, 259, 261, 268, 269, 273, 277, 278
Begram, 32
Behat, 100, 107, 129, 302
Belvalkar, S.K., 219, 220
Benaras Hindu University, 129
Benares, 74, 180
Bengal, 60, 182
Bergny, 264, 267
Besnagar, 151, 175, 176, 178, 258
Bhadras, 176
Bhadrakāra, 229
Bhadramitra, 128
Bhagala, 47
Bhagwandeva Acharya, 98
Bhagavāna Mahādeva, 40
Bhāgavata, 34, 89, 93, 94, 170, 177, 220, 224, 225, 236, 242, 243, 246, 264, 266, 270, 283, 284, 295, 297
Bhāgavataḥ, 94, 297, 311
Bhāgavata Mahadevasa, 223, 242, 243, 264, 316
Bhāgavata Mahādevasya, 264
Bhāgavata Svamino Brahmaṇya, 110
Bhaṁpayana, 198
Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, 168
Bhandarkar, D.R., 21-22, 25-26, 30, 32, 38, 40, 63, 168, 174, 210
Bhandarkar, Ramkrishna, 32
Bhānumita, 240, 251
Bhānu Mita (sa), 252
Bhānumitra, 233, 240, 241, 243, 244, 251, 252, 253, 265, 266
Bhanumitrasa, 252
Bhānuva, 122, 127
Bhānuvarmasa, 123
Bhānuvasa (sya), 121, 123
Bhapaghana, 188
Bhapaṁayana, 181, 198, 209
Bharat, 227
(Prince) Bharata, 260
Bhārata Kalā Bhawan, 129
Bharatamuni, 214
Bhāratīya Itihās Kī Rūparekhā, 176
Bhāratīya Sikke, 50
Bharatpur, 79, 85, 88, 90, 162, 315
Bharga(s), 44
Bhārhut, 28, 257, 259
Bhaṣmāśura, 139
Bhata, 73
Bhatinda, 151, 175, 180, 181
Bhatis, 73, 77
Bhatner, 89, 91, 128
Bhaṭṭa Utpala, 251
Bhattisira, 303
Bhavalpur, 55
Bhikuli, 280
Bhilsā, 154, 175, 176, 179
Bhilsā Topes, 270
Bhīma, 149
Bhinmala, 178
Bhṛgu, 216, 217
Bhīṣmaparvam, 148
Bhīṭā, 50, 90, 224, 258
Bhitakas, 176
Bhiwani, 129
Bhokshayanti, 89
Bhubharasya, 254
Bhulingāḥ, 221, 227, 229
Bhūmidhanusha, 108, 144
Bhūmikāṇḍa, 220, 221

Bihar, 27, 60, 61, 75, 164, 170, 180, 232
Bijaigadh, 82
Bijapur, 165
Bikaner, 73, 90
Bodh Gayā, 28, 165, 257
Bodhi, 110, 211
Bodhi tree, 282, 286
Bombay, 61, 178
Bombay University Journal, 163
Boukephala, 32
Boukephala Alexandria, 33
Brachmanoi, 46
Brahmā, 142
Brahmagupta, 43, 274
Brahmaṇaka, 47
Brāhmaṇas, 22, 44, 137, 138, 217, 221
Brahmanaspati, 314
Brahmāṇḍa, 164, 177, 220
Brāhmaṇical, 24, 104, 217, 262, 278
Brahmaṇism, 37
Brahmaṇya, 93, 95, 117, 118, 120, 128, 130, 136
Brahmaṇya (sa-sya), 93, 94
Brahmaṇya Deva, 93, 94, 95, 121, 136, 144
Brahmapura, 278, 279, 280, 281
Brahmapurāṇa, 66
Brāhmī, 54-57, 93, 97-99, 102, 106, 108, 110, 118, 123, 124, 126-127, 129, 143, 184, 210, 223, 235, 237, 238, 242, 243, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 282, 290, 299, 300, 310
Brahmiṇ(s), 82, 92, 153, 154
Brass, 299
Bṛhadgṛha, 180
Bṛhatakathā, 213
Bṛhaspatimitra, 257
Bṛhatasaṁhitā, 88, 177, 181, 220, 229, 230, 234, 268, 273, 277, 307
Britishers, 162
British Museum, 18, 143, 185, 244, 248, 264, 285, 310
British Museum Cat. of Ancient India, 25, 31, 99, 101, 103, 105, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 123, 125, 126, 127, 185, 229, 244, 245, 247, 250, 252, 253, 255, 260, 262, 273, 282
Bronze, 266
Brough, 217
Brown, C.J., 130
Buddha, 28, 38, 161, 213, 257
Buddha Prakash, 68, 69, 155, 157, 159, 181
Buddhism, 38, 146
Buddhist, 24, 28, 41, 43, 44, 45, 49, 81, 138, 146, 149, 178, 180, 208, 211, 220, 225, 238, 239, 254, 257, 259, 263, 269, 277, 278, 281, 282, 284, 286, 289, 308, 309
Buddhistic, 136
Buddhist India, 44, 178
Buhler, G., 80
Bulis, 44
Bundelkhand, 61
Burnouf, 24
Buriya, 302
Bury, J.W., 33
Butea frondosa, 59

C

Cambridge History of India Vol. I, 33, 54, 55, 156, 168
Captain Caulty, 129
Carlleyle, 181, 205
Carmichael Lecture, 21, 22, 30, 32
Carnea asborea, 59
Carr Stephens, 129
Caru, 217
Carus, 216
Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, 24, 25, 30, 63, 64, 104
(I.M.C.) 106, 117, 136, 151, 180, 253

Catalogue of Indian Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, 55, 61
Central Asian, 60
Central Provinces, 57
Chaitya, 254, 289, 290, 291, 308, 309
Chaityavṛkshas, 257
Chakra, 126, 133, 137, 258
Chakrabortty, S.K., 47, 48, 54, 55, 61, 62, 63, 64, 80, 94, 95, 141, 185, 195, 205, 210, 226, 235, 237, 238, 249, 259, 303, 308, 309, 311, 317
Chakrata, 97, 118, 128
Chakravālika, 61
Chalcolithic, 136
Chamb, 232
Chanchala, 306
Chand, 273
Chanda Mahāsenā, 165
Chanḍelas, 57
Chandra, 59, 227
Chandragomin, 220, 221
Chandragupta, 32, 33, 153
Chandragupta-II, 75, 177, 182
Chandragupta Maurya, 225
Chandraketu, 148
Chandravyākaraṇa, 220
Chandravṛtti, 227
Chandripada, 145
Charikar, 32
Chaṣṭana, 39
Chatra, 283, 311
Chatreśvara, 55, 276, 282, 283, 284, 297, 311, 312, 317
Chatterji, K.C., 220, 227
Chattopadhyaya, S., 311
Chatur-Māśaka, 22
Chauragarh, 139
Chedi-era, 161, 179
Che Mang, 235
Chenab, 33, 46, 155, 156, 160, 180
Chenab-Rāvīdoab, 181
Chhandogya Upaniṣada, 136
Chhatra, 283, 311, 312
Chhatravati, 283
China, 17
Chinese, 212, 278
Chintāmaṇi, T.R., 220
Chitor, 177, 179
Christ, 18
Christian, 27, 91, 128, 162
Christian-era, 179, 255
Christianity, 18
Chota, 232
Chumbī Valley, 84, 85
Cochin, 224
Cogne, 17
Coigner, 17
Coins of Ancient India, 28, 45, 51, 56, 60, 62, 73, 95, 113, 123, 126, 230, 235, 237, 247, 248, 249, 252, 255, 257, 260, 267, 272, 289, 293, 302, 309
(The) Coins of the Ancients, 53
(The) Coins of India, 130
Coins of Southern India, 60
Coomarswamy, A.K., 239, 249, 261
Copper, 21-24, 27, 29, 41, 58, 61-64, 91, 93-95, 101-105, 107, 109, 111-117, 121-126, 128-129, 132, 181, 183-185, 218, 236, 240, 241, 255, 260, 263, 268, 278, 283, 284, 285, 292, 295, 297, 299, 302, 305, 310
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, 69, 79
Cowries, 20, 29,
Critobulus, 160
Crystal, 278
Cunningham, A., 25, 28, 45, 56, 60, 62, 63, 65, 67, 71-73, 76, 89, 94, 108, 110, 112, 122, 125, 128, 144, 157, 178, 184, 186, 205, 210, 213, 218, 222, 224, 225, 227-235, 237-240, 244, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 265, 267, 268, 270, 272, 278, 279, 280, 289, 293, 302, 307, 309
Curtius, 46, 72, 82, 150, 155, 160; 171, 211
Cutch, 230, 233, 234

D

Dahmala, 222
Dahmari, 230, 232
Dahmbeori, 230
Dama, 94
Damala, 230
Dāmani, 43, 274
Damara, 230
Damari, 230
Danapura, 273
Dāṇḍakī, 43, 274
Daṇḍanyake Anantapāla, 153
Dardas, 149, 176
Dardistan, 60
Darius-III, 161
Darma, 94, 116, 120
Darukabana, 308
Darvas, 231
Dasa, 240
Daśārṇa, 178
Dasgupta, K.K., 182, 218, 221, 226, 228, 231, 237, 238
Dayal, Rao Bahadur Prayag, 118
Decadrachm, 33
Dehra, 266
Dehradoon, 86, 88, 90, 97, 118, 128, 129
Delhi, 86, 90, 128, 129, 302
Demetrius-I, 36, 56
Deodar, 274, 308
Deogarh, 60
Depalpur, 89, 128
Devaka, 71
Devalgarh, 303
Devanāgarī, 57, 58
Devaranyas, 257
Devas, 225, 282
Devasenā, 96, 97
Devasya, 93, 95, 120
Devatā, 270
Development of Hindu Iconography, 94, 97, 306, 311
Development of Indian Polity, 81, 314
Devī, 145
Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 97
Devika, 65, 71
Dey, S.K., 221
Dhajapamabama, 193
Dhameri, 230
Dhammasagaragām, 179
Dhān, 86
Dhanaba, 108
Dharaghoṣa, 227, 236, 240, 241, 242, 244, 247, 248, 249, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264
Dharaghoṣasa, 223, 242
Dharaghosha, 62
Dharaghoshasa, 227
Dharana, 23, 29, 63
Dharma, 69, 94, 116
Dharmachakra, 227, 238, 254, 259, 289
Dharmamitranandvarma, 97
Dharmasūtras, 20
Dhaulapur, 165
Dhīśachiva, 173
Dhrī, 24
Dhṛtarāṣṭrā, 130
Dhruvasena, 178, 179
Dhvaja, 238, 239, 260, 269, 307
Dikshit, S.K., 161
Diodorus, 46, 72, 150, 158, 171
Diodotus, 32, 36
Dionysos, 34, 35, 258
Divam, 57
Divyāvadāma, 149
Doab, 72, 180, 309
Dojak, 31
Dora, 273
Douglas, R.O., 107, 195, 197, 201, 210
Dowson, 222
Drachm(s), 33, 94
Drama, 95
Dramma, 95
Draupadī, 70
Dravida, 261
Droṇaparvam, 68, 148
Dronighate, 128
Dumari, 230
Durvavibhāga(s), 229
Duryodhana, 149
Dvāpara, 165
Dvi, 74, 85, 126, 130, 144, 316
Dvija, 89

Dvi-Māśaka, 22
Dvitiya, 126, 144
Dwarahat, 280

E

(The) Early Brāhmaṇical Systems of Gotra and Pravara, 217
Early Indian Economics, 41
Early History of North India, 311
Economic Development in Ancient India, 26
Eggeling, 220, 221
Eka-Māśaka, 22
Ekarāja, 81
Ekarasaṃ, 164
Ekarātre, 164
Ekashashṭirātra, 183
Ekashaṣṭi, 152
Eklinga, 284
Eklingji, 165
Electum, 53
Elliot, H.M., 60, 222, 228, 230, 232
Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 141
(The) Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, 17
English, 221
Ephesus, 53
Eucratides-II, 34, 36
Europe, 258
European, 258
Euthydemus I & II, 36
Exalted Majesty, 236
Excavations at Rairh, 31

F

Fan, 279
Farsakh, 90
Fergusson, 303
Ferric candidi, 213
Fleet, J.F., 69, 79, 80, 82, 150, 163, 170, 171, 173, 177, 315, 316
Ferozepur, 151, 155, 175, 176, 180
Ficus glomerata, 218, 234
Fig tree, 218, 238, 256, 257
Franke, R.O., 263
French, 17
Fuhrer, 278

G

Gādhi, 217
Gaja, 202
Gajama, 192
Gajara, 199
Gajahvayasa, 229, 231
Gajava, 199, 209
Gāmani Chanda Jātaka, 22
Gaṇa(s), 30, 43, 48, 50, 79-85, 92, 97, 166, 170, 172-174, 223, 273, 314, 315
Gaṇa Mukhya, 164, 315
Gaṇānaṁ Tva Gaṇapatim, 314
Gaṇapātha, 47, 130, 218, 219, 220, 233, 268
Gaṇarājya, 80
Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, 220
Gaṇasthiti Vasāti, 171, 316
Gāndhāras, 32, 56, 76
Gāndhārian, 56
Ganga, 277, 280
Gangadhāra, 162
Ganges-Jamuna doab, 180
Ganguli, O.C., 214
Gardner, P., 35
Garhwal, 89, 91, 115, 129, 274, 278, 280, 303, 304, 313
Garhwal Kā Itihās, 303
Garuḍa, 124, 135, 269
Garuḍadhvaja, 239, 261
Garuḍapurāṇa, 88
Gauḍa, 36
Gaudika, 61
Gautama, 20, 257
Gautam Buddhā, 257
Gautamīputra, 170
Gavachama, 193
Gaya, 232
Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, 90
German, 140

Ghorband, 32
Ghosh, Bhramar, 104, 105
Girināra, 56, 71
Glauchukayanakas, 47
Glaukanikoi, 47
Glimpses of Ancient Punjab, 156, 157
Glotz, 138
Gobl, R., 41
Godāvarī, 177, 232
Gojara, 209
Golakpur, 27
Gold, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 41, 51, 53, 58, 59, 60, 64, 146, 174, 185, 278, 306
Golden-age, 167, 213
Golden Bough, 258
Goldsmith, 183
Goldstucker, 32, 218, 234
Gomitra, 106
Gondophares, 37, 39, 255, 263
Gonds, 139
Gopālvas, 47
Gopuchchha, 21
Gotra, 80, 217
Govasan, 65
Govinda-III, 179
Govindachandradeva, 57
Govisana, 281
Graeco-Bactrian, 169
Graeco-Indian, 264
Greece, 17, 161
Greek(s), 17-18, 24, 30-36, 38, 41-43, 45-46, 49, 54, 56-57, 72, 79, 81, 94, 148, 150, 153, 157, 160, 161, 179, 184, 213, 214, 219, 223, 225, 235, 239, 255, 261, 262, 270, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 302, 311, 315
(The) Greeks in Bactria and India, 32, 268, 284
Grenadius, 77
Gṛhasūtra, 134
Grierson, 180
Gudimallam, 40, 297
Guilds, 25, 26, 49, 60, 183
Gujarat, 154, 178, 179
Gujarati Brāhmiṇs, 230, 270
Gujjars, 135, 146
Gulf of Cambay, 180
Guṁja-berry, 21, 29
Guṇa, 267
Gupta-art, 88
Gupta-era, 40, 161, 167, 170
(The) Gupta-Empire, 152, 181
Gupta inscriptions, 163, 170
Gupta, P.L., 26, 78, 79, 84, 98, 110, 223, 226, 230, 243
Gupta (period), 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57, 69, 75, 76, 79, 81, 89, 91, 97, 98, 124, 126, 136, 146, 150, 170, 174, 182, 214, 236, 281, 282
Guravāli Sūtra, 179
Gurdaspur, 230, 259
Gurgaon, 108
Gurjara-Pratihāra(s), 169, 170, 179
Gurukula Museum, 85
Gurunāth Vidyānidhi, 220
Guru Vaśiṣtha, 227
Gwalior, 163
Gyānspur, 163, 166

H

Hak, 250
Hamirpur, 302
Hanama, 194
Hānsī, 89, 128, 175, 181
Har, 142
Harahā, 164
Harappa, 59, 136, 257
Haraya, 209
Harayānā
Hariyana } 75, 97, 136, 177
Haryana
Hargreaves, H., 138
Harita, 59
Harivaṁśa, 66, 67, 220, 227, 232, 259
Harṣa-era, 161
Harṣavardhana, 278
Hastinapur, 231
Hata, 57
Hāṭaka, 24, 60
Head, B.V., 53
Helicarnassus, 53

Heliocles, 36
Heliodorus, 34, 239, 261
Helios, 125
Hellenic, 35, 258
Hemchandra, 178
Hephaistion, 156
Herakles, 35
Hercules, 262, 263
Hermaeus, 285
Herodotus, 60, 279
Hill's Historical Greek Coins, 33
Himalayan, 154, 161, 279, 281
(The) Himalayan Districts of North West Provinces, 308
Himalayas, 153, 271, 277
Hindi, 57
Hindu(s), 19, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 57, 71, 249, 257, 259, 264
Hinduism, 133, 137, 139, 140, 142, 145, 152, 153, 162, 166, 218, 228, 232
Hindu Polity, 26. 77, 84, 173, 210, 217, 227, 260
Hiraṇya, 59
Hiraṇya Piṇḍa, 21
His Exalted Majesty, 227, 237
Hissar, 84, 97, 129, 135, 146
Historia Naturalis, 222
History of Ancient India, 155
History of Bengal, 221
History of Dharmaśāstras, 168
History of Greece, 151
History of Greece for Beginners, 33
History of Medieval India, 75
Hiuen Tsang, 153, 178, 179, 212, 213, 278, 279, 302
Hoernale, 99
Holy Cross, 18
Horace, 305
Horoscopes, 162
Horwood, T.B., 185
Hoshiarpur, 82, 230, 232, 235, 255, 266
Hudgson, 273
Hūṇa(s), 39, 51, 57, 145, 174, 210
Hūṇas in India, 39, 57
Hutton, 136
Huviṣka, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 74, 90, 239, 255, 261, 263
Hydaspas, 32, 180
Hyderabad, 18, 46
Hydrakai, 150, 151
Hydraotes, 45, 220, 234
Hyphasis, 46, 155

I

Ibrahim Gazanavi, 230
Ikshavāku (s), 148, 149, 171
Imperial Parthian era, 169
Index to Names in the Mahābhārata, 231
India, 17, 18, 20-21, 26-34, 36, 38-40, 42, 43, 45, 48-49, 51, 54, 56, 59-61, 63, 65, 68-69, 72, 88, 92, 130, 134-136, 138-139, 148, 150, 155, 161-164, 166, 169, 171, 173-175, 177, 180-184, 207, 210, 212, 213, 214, 218, 225, 229, 230, 256, 261, 262, 270, 278, 279, 307, 314, 317
India Art Map, 234
India in the Time of Pātañjali, 259
Indian(s) 21, 24, 27-29, 33, 35, 49, 53, 56, 58, 59, 63, 76, 77, 85, 91, 92, 130, 136, 137, 139, 140, 143, 144, 153, 154, 168, 181, 182, 205, 210, 218, 225, 231, 234, 235, 239, 255, 256, 257, 258, 261, 267, 270, 273, 279, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 289, 293, 298, 306, 309, 310, 312, 317
Indian Army, 77
Indian Castes, 155
Indian Coins (Rapson), 38, 134, 136, 205, 220, 235
Indian Culture, 104
Indian Epigraphy, 164, 170
Indian Museum, 183, 253, 297
Indica, 82, 221, 234

Indo-Bactrian, 31, 35, 255, 284
Indo-Bactrian Greeks, 30, 31, 34, 35
Indo-Greek(s), 31, 34, 35, 37, 56, 64, 73, 262, 268, 282, 285, 286
Indo-Parthians, 30, 37
Indo-Persian, 63, 262
Indo-Scythian(s), 30, 39, 91, 255
Indra, 20, 307
Indradhvajasaṁpat, 307
Indramitra, 97
Indus, 33, 34, 46, 60, 67, 160, 180, 181, 219, 230, 234, 274
Indus Valley, 59, 61, 257
Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, 33, 72, 73, 155
Iran, 68, 151, 169
Iranian, 38, 41
Irāvatī, 180
Irripal, 239, 245, 255, 257, 259, 266
Īśāṇavarman, 164
Ishṭadevatā, 224
Isvarasa, 269

J

Jagadhari, 128
Jageśwar, 88
Jahangir, 230
Jaijaivanti, 130
Jain(s), 60, 137, 169, 259
Jai Prakash, 127
Jaipur, 150, 151, 162, 205
Jaisalmer, 73
Jālamanī, 43, 274
Jālandhara, 218
Jalandhara, 222, 232, 233
Jalandhar doab, 275
Jālaṅki, 43
Jamadāgni, 217
Jamaka, 200, 209
Jamaku, 186, 209
Jamapaya, 200, 209
Jambunada, 59
Jampa, 193, 202
Jammu and Kashmir, 272
Jamunā, 67, 88, 89, 91, 128, 129, 273, 277, 278, 280, 302
Janādhipa(s), 170
Jānaki, 43, 274
Janapada(s), 26, 30, 31, 44, 50, 79, 81, 88, 146, 223, 232
Jaṭā, 297
Jāṭa, 75
Jaṭābhār, 297
Jātaka(s), 21, 22, 23, 46
Jatarupa, 59
Jatarupebhyah parimane, 24
Jāti, 173
Jats, 135, 146
Jāṭ Regiment, 77
Jaunsar Bawar, 90
Jaya, 186, 187, 190, 193, 195, 201, 204
Jayadāmana, 39, 152
Jayadharas, 37
Jayadhvaja, 262, 309
Jayaḥ, 92
Jaya Malavā, 188
Jaya Mālavānā, 186
Jaya Malavana, 188, 189
Jayasiṁhadeva, 179
Jayaswal, K. P., 25-26, 43-48, 77, 79, 80, 84, 85, 131, 144, 154, 170, 173, 174, 198, 210, 217, 222, 228, 230, 233, 235, 236, 238, 239, 260, 268, 270, 275, 277, 281, 315, 316, 317
Jayati, 57
Jayatu Vrishah, 39
Jayavarman, 149
Jaya Yaudheya, 75
Jermiah, 60
Jetavana, 28
Jhajjhar, 85
Jhang, 156, 175, 180
Jhelum, 32, 46, 155, 156, 180
Jind, 130, 155, 180
Jita, 57
Jīvik, 229
Jnaganasya, 254
Jnagansya, 254
Johiyā, 73, 77
Johiyabār, 73, 89, 90

Johiyā Rājaputa, 76
John Marshall, 224
Jolley, 80
Jona-Rāja, 60
Joshimath, 273, 280
Jullundur, 232
Jūnāgadh, 72, 76, 77, 175
Jungle, 153, 212
Justin, 32
Jwālāmukhi, 255, 265, 302
Jyeṣtha-Rājam, 314

K

Kabul, 32
Kachchha, 230
Kada, 257
Kādambarī, 145
Kahror, 89, 128
Kaira, 175, 178, 179
Kākaṇika, 22, 23, 285
Kala, S.C., 89, 112, 121, 123, 129, 280, 303, 304
Kalachuris, 57
Kālajñanya, 170
Kalaśa, 125, 126, 140
Kali, 161, 165
Kālidāsa, 207, 213
Kali Saṁvat, 161
Kālikāpurāṇa, 215
Kalkin, 163
Kambhojas, 45, 153
Kambistholi, 220, 234
Kamboja(s), 32, 274
Kambu, 61
Kaṁsa, 21
Kaṁswā, 163, 165
Kandali, 59
Kankali-tila, 259
Kane, P.V., 168
Kangle, 83
Kangra, 55, 80, 86, 90, 110, 128, 143, 222, 233, 235, 245, 255, 266, 272, 273, 278
Kaniṣka, 38, 57, 74, 90, 255, 263
Kanishka-era, 161
Kaniṣka-III, 74, 86
Kanandasa, 311
Kannauj, 107
Kanpur, 124
Kaphaians, 46
Kapilvastu, 44
Kapingalas, 231
Kapiśā, 32, 34
Kapiśī, 35
Kapisthalas, 220, 229, 230, 233
Kar, R.C., 240, 247, 250
Karamdaṇḍā, 40
Karkoṭanagar, 151, 205
Karma Sachiva, 173
Karṇa, 176
Karnal, 128, 302
Karṇaparva, 68
Karṣa, 23, 24
Kārṣāpaṇa(s), 22, 23, 24, 29, 63, 184
Kārśikā, 23, 24
Kartripura, 273
Kārttikeya, 40, 41, 93-97, 110-114, 116-120, 124-126, 135-137, 139, 142, 145, 222, 265, 284, 313
Kārttikeyapur, 88, 91, 273, 279, 280
Karuṣa, 180
Kashmīr, 60, 163, 271
Kāśmiras, 153, 231, 277
Kāśī, 50
Kāśikā, 24, 43, 44, 46, 47, 220, 221
Kāśīpur, 279, 280
Kaśyapa Saṁhitā, 96
Katha(s), 76, 163, 233
Kathaian(s), 34, 45, 46, 315
Kathāsaritasāgara, 169, 178
Kathiawar, 30, 45
Kātyāyana, 23, 31, 80
Katyur(as), 88, 273, 274, 279, 280
Kaulinda, 273
Kauṇdibrisa, 47
Kauṇinda, 273
Kaundoparatha, 43, 274
Kauravas, 70, 149
Kauśāmbī, 44, 50, 257

Kauśika, 217
Kauṣṭakī, 43
Kauṭilya, 30, 43, 45, 49, 58, 61-62, 67, 81, 82, 83, 171, 174, 184, 212, 225, 275, 316, 317
Kavisiye nagara devatā, 34, 270
Kekayas, 67, 149, 181, 229
Kharar, 128
Khārī, 21
Kharoṣṭhī, 34, 35, 37, 54-57, 92, 143, 152, 184, 210, 223, 235, 237, 242, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 270, 284, 290, 299, 310
Khasias, 279
Khata Bana, 128
Khokrakot, 129, 131, 132, 133
Kirāṭas, 153
Ki-ta, 178, 213
Kleitos, 156
Kleta, 178
Knossos, 138
Kolar, 59
Koliyas, 44
Kolutasya, 55
Koptanasya, 254
Kophen, 34
Koputasya, 254
Koṭā, 162, 163
Kotah, 164
Kot Kamalia, 156, 157, 175, 176
Krananda, 311
Krateros, 156
Kraushṭaki, 274
Kṛmilā, 66, 68
Kritodemos, 160
Kṛpudhanaba, 107
Kṛṣṇa, 35, 70, 140, 176
Kṛṣṇala, 21, 22, 28, 29
Kṛta, 168, 170
Kṛta-era, 162, 163, 166
Kṛta-Mālava, 164
Kṛta-Mālava Vikram Saṁvat, 168
Kṛtānta, 168
Kṛta Sanjñite, 167
Kṛtayuga, 163, 164, 165, 167
Kṛttikā, 96, 97, 134, 142, 164
Ksatras, 153
Ksatriyas, 160
Kshatrapa(s), 30, 39, 50, 78, 94, 149, 152, 174
Kshatriya(s), 45, 46, 71, 72, 76, 77, 81, 92, 149, 212, 217
Kshaudrakya, 212
Kshīrasvāmin, 24
Kshudraka(s), 46, 76, 150, 151, 153, 155, 157, 158, 160, 171, 173, 177, 179, 211, 316
Kshudraka-Mālawah, 180
Kuchchha, 234
Kujula, 56
Kujulakadphises, 30
Kukaras, 45, 47
Kukuras, 171, 212
Kulinda(s), 272, 273, 277, 281
Kulindopatyakas, 272
Kulindrine, 273, 277
Kulu, 272, 277, 278
Kulūṭas, 48, 55, 62, 153, 230, 235, 277, 278
Kulu Valley, 60, 238, 261, 269
Kumaon, 88, 273, 274, 279, 280, 281, 282, 308, 313
Kumāra, 39, 40, 93, 94, 124, 136, 144
Kumāragupta-I, 124, 137, 145, 163
Kumārasya, 93
Kunandasa, 311
Kunet, 230, 272, 273, 277
Kuṇinda(s), 18, 48, 49, 55, 62-64, 74, 79, 81, 85, 88, 100, 110, 115, 135, 137, 218, 219, 224, 225, 262, 265, 270, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 289, 291, 292, 293, 295, 297, 299, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 307, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 316, 317
Kuṇindasa, 55, 283, 286, 289, 290, 292, 298, 310

Kuṇindasya, 275
Kunindasya, 286, 317
Kunninda, 273
Kupradhanaba, 108
Kurukshetra, 91
Kurus, 45, 68, 69, 171, 212, 231
Kuruvyahas, 231
Kuśa, 70, 138
Kuṣāṇa(s), 30, 37-39, 41, 50, 57, 59, 64, 71, 73-76, 78-79, 85, 86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 103, 123, 125, 126, 136, 146, 152, 179, 182, 269, 278, 279, 281, 283, 284, 285, 302, 312, 313
Kutch, 178
Kutchchha, 270

L

Lachchhana, 256
Lahore, 45, 75, 89, 232, 248
Lahore Museum, 264
Lahul, 277
Lakhanpur, 278
Lakshmaṇa, 148
Lakshmī, 97, 110, 113, 125, 133, 135, 137, 208, 286, 304, 305, 306
Lala, 303
Lala Bhagat, 124
Lala Manohar Lal, 303, 304
Lallanji Gopal, 26
Language and Literature of Nepal, 273
Lansdowne, 88, 91, 115, 129
Laodice, 36
Lāṭ, 209
Laufer, 60
Lava, 70, 187, 190
Lavana, 187
Lavānā, 187
Law, B.C., 159, 227
Laxmī, 292
Lead, 58, 61, 99, 205
Leonnatos, 159
Levis, 222
Lichchhavikas, 45
Lichchhavis, 44, 45, 79, 153, 171, 212
Liṁga, 39, 40, 139
Liṅgam, 242
Linguistic Survey of India, 151, 180
Lohā, 61
London, 18, 244
Lord Buddha, 168
Lord Kṛṣṇa, 168
Loṭā, 204
Lucknow Museum, 96, 128
Ludhiana, 80, 81, 86, 90, 129, 155, 176, 180, 302, 315
Lydians, 17
Lysias, 37, 262, 263

M

Mabay, 192
Macedonian(s), 33, 41, 73, 157, 158, 161, 173, 212
Madhyadeśa, 229, 243
Mādhyamika, 31
Madhya Pradesh, 139, 154
Madra, 44, 148
Madrakāra, 221, 227
Madrakas, 45, 150, 171, 181, 212
Madras, 47, 48, 67, 76, 90, 148
Madras Mail, 84
Magadha, 90, 153, 174, 212, 232, 271
Magadhan, 27, 90, 153, 158
Magacha, 209
Magachha, 209
Māgadhī, 150
Magaja, 199, 202, 209
Magajasa, 199, 209
Magajava, 192, 199, 209
Māgha, 207, 213
Maghas, 74
Magloi, 57
Magoja, 192
Magojava, 192, 199
Maha, 193, 245
Mahā, 202

Mahābhārata, 21, 42, 44, 45, 60, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 80, 81, 83, 86, 108, 124, 130, 136, 148, 149, 163, 176, 179, 180, 212, 213, 217, 220, 229, 231, 268, 272, 279, 315
Mahābhāṣya, 218, 220, 258
Mahābhūtimitra, 240, 241, 243, 244, 253, 265
Mahābodhi, 28
Mahādeva, 142, 223, 224, 225, 226, 234, 236, 237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 250, 262, 263, 264, 266, 269, 270, 311, 316, 317
Mahadevasa, 222, 223, 224, 236, 237, 242, 246, 248, 266
Mahādevasa, 227, 237, 266
Mahāgaṇa, 314
Mahāgaṇasya jaya, 197
Mahājanapadas, 27
Mahājaya, 198
Mahākāla, 206
Mahākshatrapa, 84, 97
Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, 56, 71
Mahāmātra, 173
Mahāmāyurī, 222, 229, 268, 305
Mahamitasa, 48
Mahāmitra, 48
Mahāpadmananda, 174
Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, 149
Maharaja, 193
Mahārāja(s), 44, 56, 82, 84, 85, 93, 97, 98, 100, 102, 172, 200, 209, 225, 275, 285, 289
Maharajasa, 54, 57, 269, 283, 286, 290, 292, 298, 299, 310, 311
Mahārājasya, 57, 275, 286, 317
Mahārāja Gachha, 200
Mahārāja Gajasa(or gaja), 199
Mahārāja Gajava (Gajapa), 199
Mahāraja Gaṇapati, 197
Mahārāja Gautamiputra, 224
Mahārāja janapada, 48, 55, 62
Mahārāja Jaya, 198
Mahāraja Jupa, 198
Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati, 79, 85, 315, 316
Mahārāja Paka, 200
Mahārāja Paya, 199
Mahārāja Sarapa, 199
Mahārānā, 261
Mahārāshtra, 232
Mahārāyā, 181, 200
(Ma) h (ā) rāya, 200
Mahāsenā, 39, 40, 41, 136, 224, 239
Mahāsenāpati, 82, 84, 85, 97, 172
Mahāsenātiṣristha, 224
Mahatah, 57
Mahātmanaḥ, 283, 284, 297, 311
Mahāt-rana, 295
Mahatasa, 57
Mahāvastu, 60
Mahāvīra, 161
Maheśa, 57, 142
Mahendrāditya, 169
Maheśvara, 311
Mahimita, 240
Mahi mita, 251
Mahimitra, 240, 241, 243, 251
Mahīmitra, 244, 251, 265
Mahisvarasa, 269
Mahmood Gazanavī, 75
Maithilā, 170
Maja, 193
Majumdar, R.C., 65, 221
Majumdar, R.C. & Altekar, A.S., 50, 152
Majumdar, R.C. (and others), Raychaudhuri, H.C. & Datta, K.K., 33
Majupa, 183, 198, 209
Majura, 213
Mala, 54, 190, 195, 201, 202. 208
Malajayah, 210
Malava, 208
Mālavā, 195
Malavā, 187
Mālava(s), 18, 30, 31, 42, 46-49, 54, 55, 58, 62, 63, 69, 74, 76, 78, 81, 89, 90, 92, 148,

149-161, 163-185, 187-189, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 201, 202, 204, 205-208, 210-214, 256, 303, 307, 312, 316
Mala(va), 204
Mālava-Avantī, 174, 180
Mālava Gaṇasya. 208
Mālava Gaṇāmnata, 168
Mālava Gaṇāmnate, 167
Mālava Gaṇa Viṣaya, 183
Mālava Gaṇasya Jayaḥ, 167, 197, 210
Mālava Gaṇa Sthiti, 168, 173
Mālavānāṁ Gaṇasthitya, 166
Mālava Gaṇa Sthitivaśāt, 166
Malavahna, 210
Mālava janapadasa, 31, 205
Mālava Jaya, 208
Mālava jaya (ḥ), 196, 210
Mālava-Kāla, 163,
Mālava Kalach Chharadāṁ, 166
Mālavaka-Āhara, 153
Malavana, 187, 195
Mālavānā, 181, 186, 187, 195, 205
Mālavana, 222
Malava(nam), 195
Mālavanas, 229
Malava Jaya, 196,
Mālavānāṁ, 196, 210
Mālavana Jaya, 55, 208
Malavaṇa Jaya, 196
Mālavāṇa Jaya, 55, 188, 196, 208
Malavahna Jaya, 197, 208
Malavana Jaya, 185, 188, 189, 194, 195, 208
Mālavānāṁ Jayaḥ, 92, 154, 167, 174, 196, 208, 210, 211
Mālava Gaṇa, 163, 166, 168
Mālava Na Jaya, 203
Mālava najaya, 188, 190
Mālava-Sikh, 155, 180, 181
Mālava Sujaya, 203, 208
Mālava Vaṁśa, 149
Mālaveśānāṁ Saṁvatsara, 166
Mālaveśa-Gata Vatsara, 166
Mālavīs, 154
Mālavīya, 154
Mālavya, 212
Malla(s), 44, 45, 148
Mallai, 151
Mallakas, 45, 171, 212
Mallarāṣṭra, 148
Malli, 150, 151
Malloi(s), 46, 148, 150, 151, 153, 161, 171, 212
Malwa, 30, 39, 50, 56, 151, 162, 165, 166, 176, 179, 180
Malawai, 151
Malaya, 54, 153, 202, 204, 208, 210
Mālaya, 54, 195, 201, 208
Malayas, 153
Malayaketus, 170
Manasara, 255
Malerkotala, 155
Mālī Bandobasta, 180
Man, 232, 234
Manbhum, 60
Mandsor, 162, 163, 166, 167, 171, 173, 316
Maṅgal Kalaśa, 140
Mankot, 222
Maṅtra, 83
Maṅtradhāra(s), 48, 82, 83, 85
Maṅtradhāranāṁ, 83
Maṅtrī, 173
Manu, 23, 83, 184
Manu Saṁhitā, 23
Manusmṛti, 83, 315
Mao, 125
Mapacha, 193
Mapachaya, 192
Mapaja, 192, 194, 199, 200, 209
Mapajava, 192
Mapaka, 200, 209
Mapaya, 194
Mapojaya, 198, 209
Mara, 194
Maraja, 209
Marāja, 200
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 66, 67, 177, 220, 231, 268, 272
Marshall, J., 136
Maru, 86, 154
Marubhūmi, 86, 89

Maruts, 314
Mary, 18
Māśaka, 22, 23
Masapa, 199, 209
Māśapa, 199
Massanoi, 33
Master Bharat Singh, 132
Matasya, 88, 164, 177
Matasyapurāṇa, 66, 164
Mathander, 90
Mathurā, 47, 55, 71, 76, 90, 143, 243, 259, 266, 268, 278, 281
Matridates-I, 169
Maues, 168
Maukhari, 137
Maurya(s), 27, 33, 45, 47, 59, 76, 103, 123, 174, 218
Mauryan, 47, 54, 73, 161, 176
Mayādevī, 257
Mayurprishthasrayana Guhera, 124
McCrindle, J.W., 33, 34, 45, 73, 82, 150, 155, 156, 157, 180
Medes, 68
Megasthenes, 35, 60, 225
Memoirs of Arch. Survey, 138
Menālgadhins, 166
Menander, 36, 49, 219, 268, 277, 281
Meru, 306
Messaga, 161
Mewar, 284
Mihirakula, 39
Milinda, 49
Militia, 212
Mita, 240
Mitasa, 107
Mithilā, 44
Mithra, 125
Mitra, 243, 251, 265, 281, 282, 317
Mitra, Babu Rajendra Lal, 311
Moghul, 222
Mohammedan, 90
Mohenjodaro, 59, 136, 257
Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization, 136
Mo-la-po, 153, 178, 179, 212, 213
Mongols, 60
Monier-Williams, 173, 225
Montgomery, 180
Mookerjee, D.N., 163
Mookerji, R.K., 152, 181
Moriyas, 44
Moslem, 213
Mosques, 18
M. Sylvain Levi, 34, 44, 46
Muchukarna, 46
Muhammedan, 222
Mukhari, 164
Multan, 75, 89, 128, 157, 160, 175, 180
Mural, 35
Musicani, 46
Muziris, 60
Mysore, 18, 59

N

Nade Dhandevasya, 105
Nāga(s), 47, 55, 62, 74, 197, 199, 211
Nāgar, 185, 205, 211, 214
Nāgarchal, 150
Nagar Devatā, 35
Nāgarī, 57, 162
.Nagwā, 179
Nahapāṇa, 152, 170
Naigamah, 26, 31
Naigama(s), 30, 31, 50
Nainital, 280
Najaya, 203
Na Jaya, 202, 203
Nakula, 70, 108, 176
Nal, 138
Nālandā, 50
Nanda(s), 27, 151, 153
Nandavarmmanaḥ, 98
Nandavarmmanasya, 98
Nandī, 139, 206, 258, 269
Nandin, 37, 56, 139, 307

Nandipada, 103, 104, 134, 139, 142, 145, 195, 262, 290, 291, 306, 307, 308
Nandsā, 152, 183
Nandsā Yūpa pillar, 149, 162
Nārada, 23
Narain, A.K., 31, 34, 37, 53, 56
Naravāhana, 165
Narmadā, 177, 181
Narvarman, 167
Narwār, 211
National Museum, 129
Natural History, 229, 230, 234
Nāṭyasāra, 214
Naurangabad, 85, 98, 99, 129, 132, 133
Nautiyal, K.P., 88, 280, 282
Navarāṣṭra, 66, 68
Nazi, 140
Nearchos, 156
Negamā, 25, 26, 31, 56
Negama(s), 26, 29, 50, 183
Negrito Substratum, 136
Nehru, J.L., 52
Nekama, 56
Nelson Wright, 266
Nepal, 273
Netā, 172, 316
Nickel, 213
Nigama(s), 26, 29
Nikaia, 32
Niṣka, 21, 22, 24, 28
Nitti, 273
Nizams, 18
North-West Frontier Provinces, 33
North-West Provinces, 54
Nṛga, 66, 67
Numitrasa, 253
Numismatic Chronicle, 33, 221
Numismatic Supplement, 245, 267
Nurpur, 218, 230, 231
Nya, 117
Nyadeva, 117
Nyasa, 34
Nyāyasūchī of Vāchaspati Miśra, 170

O

Ocean of China, 164
Odabarisa, 242
Odombeores, 222, 229, 230, 233
Odomboerae, 218
Odonbeores, 230, 234
Odubarasa, 238
Odubarisa, 222, 245, 246, 248
Odumbara(s), 218, 265, 267
Odu(ṁ)barisa, 218, 236
Odu(ṁ)bari, 237
Oduṁbari, 265, 266, 267
Oduṁbarisa, 222, 223, 226, 237, 238, 248, 263, 317
Odubarisa Sivadasasa, 238
OHPO, 38, 57
Omphis, 28
Opian, 32
Orissa, 61, 182
Orosius, 72
Ossadioi, 72
Ossadoi, 46
Ossodioi, 72
Owl, 33
Oxydrakai(s), 46, 150, 151, 161

P

Pachha, 199, 209
Pachmarhi, 139
Pāda, 22
Pāda Kārṣāpaṇa, 22
Padmanābhā, 225, 284
Padmāvatī, 74, 211
Pāde, 28
Pahlavas, 56
Paise, 52
Paithana, 179, 222, 232
(Pa)khalavadi-devadā, 35
Pakistan, 180, 232
Pakpatan, 91

Pallas, 263
Pali Canon, 20
Pālī, 255, 297, 298, 310
Pali und Saṅskrit, 263
Palye, M., 17
Paṇa, 23, 24, 184, 285
Pāñchāla(s), 45, 88, 171, 212, 233, 243, 262, 282, 286
Pançakarpaṭa, 176
Panchayat, 84
Pāṇḍavas, 65, 66, 70, 140, 149
Pandey, Deenbandhu, 96
Pandey, R.B., 148, 161, 162
Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, 52
Paṇḍit Madan Mohan Mālavīya, 155
Paṇḍit Tārādatt Gairola, 274
Pandukesar, 280
Paneapura, 176
Pāṇini, 21, 22, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 65, 66, 67, 71, 80, 81, 130, 146, 150, 153, 170, 218, 219, 221, 225, 233
Panipat, 74, 89, 128
Panjor, 176
Panjshir, 32
Panjya, 90, 118, 119, 128
Pantaleon, 35, 56
Parāśara, 251
Pāravatī, 18
Pārdās, 229
Pargiter, F.E., 66, 67, 68
Pariyatra, 177
Parmāra, 169
Paropanisadae, 32
Pāraśikas, 153
Parsus, 67
Pārśva(s), 44, 274
Parthian, 64, 169
Pashmina, 271
Pātaliputra, 27, 74
Pātañjali, 42, 46, 151, 212, 218, 220, 258
Pātañjali's Mahābhāṣya, 40, 49, 150
Pathana, 232, 234, 235
Pathania, 232
Pathaniya, 222
Pathankot, 219, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 244, 248, 253, 255, 263, 271
Patiala, 89, 151, 155, 176, 180
Patika, 168
Patimokha, 23
Patna, 27
Paurāṇic, 67, 71, 77
Pauravas, 67
Pāwā, 44
Paya, 181, 191, 199, 200, 209
Peepal, 257
Peithon, 157
Penkestas, 159
Penzer, N.M., 164
Perdikkas, 156, 159
Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, 33, 60
Persia, 60, 61
Persian, 34, 35, 64, 67, 68, 143, 153
Persian Siglos, 262
Peshawar, 50
Phanes, 53
Phegalas, 47
Philip Arrhidaeus, 54
Philippos, 156, 160
Philoxenus, 35
Piṇḍa, 59
Pine tree, 308
Piplika, 279
Pipilika-gold, 60
Pippalivana, 44
Plato, 36
Pliny (Gaius Plinius Secundus), 51, 60, 150, 222, 229, 230, 233, 234
Plutarch, 79
Pokhar, 186
Political History of Ancient India, 32, 153
Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab, 68, 155
Po-Lohit-mo-pu-lo, 278

Poros, 32, 33, 79, 153, 181
Porus, 219
P'o-tch'a-na-Kie, 234, 235
Potin, 99, 101, 103, 105
Povindah, 281
Powell Price, J.C., 274, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 305
Prabhāgra Vardhan, 149
Prabhāvakacharita, 169
Prāchīn Bhāratīya Lokadharma, 96
Practical Saṅskrit-English Dictionary, 225
Pradhāna, 173, 315
Prāḍavivāka, 173
Praharaṇam, 260
Praharaṇas, 238, 269
Prakṛt, 55, 57, 92, 143, 148, 195, 196, 208, 211, 218, 231, 250, 263, 264, 265, 310
Prakritinaka, 99
Prasad, Ishwari, 75
Prati, 23
Pratihār, 90
Pratimā Nāṭaka of Bhāṣa, 238, 260, 269
Pratiṣthāna, 232
Prayāga, 154
Prinsep, 262, 309
Pṛthiviṁ, 57
Pruffer, Olar, 108
Przy luski, J., 148, 151, 219, 267
Ptolemies, 41
Ptolemy, 156, 218, 232, 235, 273, 277, 281
Pūgas, 146
Pūja(s), 140
Pulinda(s), 281
Punch-marked, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 47, 49, 54, 138, 174, 307
Punjab, 24, 31, 33, 34, 42, 44, 47, 49, 55, 67, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 88, 89, 90, 108, 110, 112, 128, 129, 130, 143, 150, 151-153, 164, 169, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 219, 225, 233, 234, 235, 245, 255, 265, 266, 268, 270, 274, 278, 279, 281, 282, 302
Punjab Museum, 248, 266
Punjabi, 233
Purāṇa(s), 23, 24, 29, 42, 63, 67, 71, 164, 177, 180, 213, 220, 222, 231, 249
Purāṇic, 163, 272
Puraskrita, 84
Puri, B.N., 259
Purṇapāla, 165
Purohita(s), 92, 95, 173
Puru, 67
Puruṣottamadeva, 178
Pūrva-Mālava, 154
Puṣkalāvatī, 35
Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, 218, 225

Q

Quintus Curtius, 28, 82, 213

R

Raghuvaṁśa, 92, 124
Rahul, 75
Raibahadur G.S. Ojha, 173
Rairh, 205
Raja, 250, 254
Rājā(s), 33, 73, 84, 100, 171, 223, 224, 225, 232, 235, 273, 275, 303, 314, 315
Rājā Ajamitra, 241, 244
Rājā Bakhtamalla, 222
Rājādhirāja, 57
Rājaghāṭa, 145
Rājan, 277
Rājanah, 314, 317
Rājanah Samitaviva, 314
Rajña, 289
Rajñah, 283, 285, 286, 310
Rājā Krishna, 75
Rājā Vīrāyasasa, 241, 244
Rājā Vṛṣṇi, 241, 244
(Ra)jna, 252
Rajna, 254, 267

Rajana, 267
Rājanya(s), 92, 143, 219, 252
Rājanyādigaṇa, 218
Rājanya Janapada, 48
Rajaraja, 242, 247, 264
Rajarāja, 246
Rājaraja, 246
Rajarajasa, 57
Rājarajasya, 57
Rājarājā, 236
Rāja-rāja, 263
Rajarañа, 225, 246
Rājarajnaḥ, 264
Rājārāja, 225
Rājāraja, 226
Rājārañа, 226
Rājarañа, 242, 264, 317
Rājarṣi, 149
Rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ, 171, 275, 317
Rājaśabdopajīvin Saṁgha, 45, 212, 277
Rajasthan, 61, 164, 169, 182
Rajata, 59, 61
Rājatarangini, 60
Rajatiraja, 269
Rajauri, 90
Rajito, 57
Rājnah, 275, 311
Rajña, 55, 249, 255, 265, 292, 298
Rajñ(o), 250, 290
Rajno, 254
Rājño Bhanuvasa, 121, 123
Rajor, 90
Rajorgarh, 90
Rājpur, 75, 90
Rajput, 169
Rajput Regiment, 77
Rajputana, 47, 49, 57, 74, 76, 77, 86, 89, 90, 91, 151, 152, 154, 162, 173, 177, 180, 182
Rajputana Rifles, 77
Rajyapur, 90
Raktikā, 21, 29
Rāma, 70
Ramganga, 278
Rāmagrama, 44
Rāmnagar, 90
Rāmasvāmi, 24
Rāmāyaṇa, 70, 83, 140, 148, 170, 213, 227
Rāñā, 250, 267
Rana, 252
Raña, 55, 222, 223, 227, 236, 237, 242, 248, 249, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 265, 283, 286, 290, 310
Raña numitrasa, 253
Rano, 242, 265
Rao, U.S., 129
Rapson, E.J., 33, 34, 38, 54, 55, 61, 93, 108, 134, 136, 143, 144, 151, 156, 168, 169, 180, 182, 197, 209, 210, 220, 228, 230, 234, 235, 242, 249, 250, 266, 267, 270, 282, 305
Rashid-ud-Din, 230
Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 75, 165, 179
Ratlam, 175, 179
Ratti(s), 51, 63
Raturi, H.K., 303
Rawlins, J.P., 255
Rāvaṇa, 122, 127
Rāvaṇasya, 121
Rāvī, 45, 46, 156, 157, 160, 176, 180, 212, 220, 229, 230, 232, 234, 315
Ray, N., 178
Raychaudhuri, H.C., 32, 153, 161
Reika, 216
Ṛgveda, 20, 59, 136, 220, 306, 314
Ṛgvedic, 21
Ṛṣi, 306
Rhys Davids, 44, 178
Ripu, 57
Rodger, C.J., 108, 144, 187, 202, 203
Roh, 232
Rohilkhand, 282
Rohitaka, 86, 128
Rohtak, 85, 86, 88, 90, 97, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135, 146

Rohtak-Agroha, 176
Roman(s), 18, 51, 150, 182, 239, 255, 261
Rome, 17, 51, 132
Rornle, A.F.R., 129
Roychoudhury, C., 59
Rudok, 60
Rudrachand, 273
Rudradāman, 39, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78, 90, 94, 145, 146, 152
Rudradasa, 237, 245, 266
Rudradāsa, 227, 236, 237, 240, 241, 244, 245, 249, 266
Rudradasasa, 223, 245
Rudrasiṁha-I, 152
Rudravarmā, 233, 234, 236, 244, 249, 250, 251, 264, 266
Rudravarmasa, 249, 250, 265, 267
Rudravarman, 240, 241, 247, 259, 265

S

Sābarmatī, 178
Sabhāparva(m), 68, 70, 83, 86, 148, 176, 220, 227, 229, 231, 272
Sabraoe, 82
Sabzkot, 91
Ṣaḍāṇana, 94, 136
Ṡagartal, 179
Saharanpur, 86, 88, 89, 129, 279, 280, 302
Ṣahni, B., 128, 129, 132
Śailya, 46, 55, 71
Saindhas, 277
Sairindhas, 278
Śaiva(s), 40, 238, 239, 249, 261, 269
Śaivite, 239, 268, 269
Sajaya, 193
Sākala, 219, 234, 235
Śaka(s), 49, 56, 74, 152, 153, 161, 164, 167, 171, 174, 182, 183, 184, 210, 278, 281, 302, 311
Śaka-era, 169, 170
Śaka-Kshatrap(s), 49, 56, 94
Śākya(s), 44
Śālaṅkāyans, 47
Salt-range, 46
Salva, 221, 227, 229
Sālvāvayāva, 221
Śalyaparva, 124
Sāmanta-pasāḍikā, 23
Samarasata, 57
Śāmaśāstrī, R., 58, 67
Sambagroe, 72
Sambastoe, 72
Sambhar, 177
Saṁbodhi, 257
Sambostoe, 72
Sambracoe, 72, 73, 82
Sambur, 274
Saṁgha(s), 43, 45, 50, 80, 81, 150, 171, 212
Saṁhāra, 142
Saṁhitā(s), 20, 21
Samiti, 314, 315
(The) Śaṁkshiptasāra, 220
Samudragupta, 48, 50, 51, 69, 77, 81, 85, 90, 137, 150, 152, 174, 177, 210, 214, 219, 269, 273, 279, 283
Saṁvat, 170
Saṁvatsara, 165
Samwagaris, 72
Sanātana, 216
Sāṅchī, 259, 270
Saṅgala, 219
Saṅkala, 46
Saṅskrit, 34, 46, 55, 56, 57, 60, 128, 143, 150, 151, 195, 196, 202, 211, 232, 264, 273, 310
Saṅskrit-English Dictionary, 173
Santhal Parganas, 60
Śāntiparva, 80, 217, 315
Sapta-Mālava, 153
Ṣaptarshi, 161
Śaradaṇḍās, 221, 227, 229
Sarasvatī, 207, 229
Sarasvatīkaṇtha-bharana, 220

Sarāvastī, 28
Śarda, 163
Sarhind, 278
Sarvaloge, 269
Śaśāṅka, 38, 40
Śāstras, 213
Śāstrī, A. Banerji, 169
Śāstrī, Dāmodar, 220, 221
Śāstrī, Gaṇapati, 228, 232
Śastropajīvin, 67
Śastropajīvin Saṁgha, 45, 173
Satagarhā, 89, 128
Satakumbha, 59
Śatamāna, 22, 28
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 22, 137, 221
Satrapa(s), 47, 53, 73, 76, 79, 92, 160, 235, 270
Satrapy, 160
Śātavāhana, 61, 169
Satyavatī, 216, 217
Saubhreya, 67
Saubhūti, 34, 46
Saurāṣṭra, 89, 167, 177
Sauviras, 67
Śāyaṇḍas, 47
Schoff, W.W., 60, 61
Scythic, 39
Scytho-Sassanian, 38
Select Inscriptions, 76, 169
Seleucid(s), 41, 54
Seleucuos, 32
Seltman, C., 17
Senāpati, 84, 97, 172
Sengupta, 163
Shahabad, 180
Shankararāja, 97, 98
Sharan, M.K., 150
Shaṣṭhī, 96, 97, 134, 142, 145
Shaṣṭhī-datta, 145
Shaṣthi-mitra, 145
Shastri, A.M., 238, 241, 22,4 250, 251, 269
Shat-Trimsat, 23
Shikar, 50
Shorkot, 156
Shri Jineshwar Das, 89, 115, 123, 129
Shrī Rāmachandra, 70, 140, 148
Shroffs, 24
Siberian, 60
Śibi(s), 31, 42, 46, 47, 48, 55, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 76, 78, 148, 149, 176, 222, 229, 256
Sibois, 46
Siddha, 168
Siddhānta, 168
Sikandar Sur, 222
Sikh(s), 155, 180
Silver, 21-24, 27-29, 41, 53, 58, 59-64, 93-95, 110, 112, 117, 130, 174, 185, 214, 223, 231, 233, 236, 237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 249, 250, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, 270, 282, 283, 285, 286, 289, 292, 293, 299, 302, 305, 306, 310, 312
Simla, 272
Sindh, 33, 34, 45-47, 67, 71, 79, 164, 169, 176
Sindhu, 153, 167
Sindhu-Pulindas, 281
Sinha, H.N., 81, 314, 315
Sino-Indian Studies, 41
Sircar, D.C., 76, 90, 164, 169, 170, 182, 209, 311
Sirsā, 89, 128
Sirohi, 165
Śīśā, 61, 63
Sisodia Rana(s), 225
Śiva, 18, 35, 37-40, 116, 119, 120, 139, 142, 145, 202, 206, 223, 224, 238, 239, 248, 249, 259, 261, 267, 269, 276, 277, 283, 284, 295, 297, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312, 316, 317
Śivadatta, 257, 285
Śivādasa, 223, 224, 227, 236, 237, 240, 241, 244, 249, 266
Sivadasa, 237, 266
Sivadasasa, 222
Śivāgāma, 163
Śivaliṁga, 297
Śivapāli(ta), 285
Śivālika, 75, 278

Śivapura, 68
Śiwālika, 128
Skanda, 39, 40, 136, 137, 239, 261
Skandagupta, 51
Skandapurāṇa, 308
Smith, V.A., 24, 25, 30, 34, 39, 63, 64, 84, 85, 92, 93, 104, 105, 107, 117, 118, 130, 144, 151, 154, 160, 171, 178, 180, 181, 183, 184, 195, 196, 197, 199, 201-205, 209-211, 213, 233, 235, 253, 275, 277, 279, 290, 299, 303, 307
Smṛtis, 26
Sodrai, 33
Sogdian Alexandria, 33
Sogdoi, 33
Sogi, 149
Sohoni, S.V., 238, 239, 260, 261, 269, 270
Solar, 149
Soma, 149, 152
Somadeva Sūrī, 75, 86
Sombastai, 46
Somnath, 75
Sonepat, 89, 128, 130
Spiti, 277
Sohgnara, 255
Sophytes, 34, 46
Southeast Asia, 136
Spain, 61
Spooner, D.B., 25
Śrāddha, 232
Śreṇis, 45, 49
Śrī, 237, 258
Śrī Bidyābinod, 244, 247
Ṣrimaharaja, 193
Śrīnagar, 303, 304
Sringasuktija, 59, 60
Srirangpatanam, 18
Śrī Soma, 149, 171, 172
Śrī-Sūkta, 306
Śrīvatsa, 306
Sṛshṭ-yābda, 161
Srughna, 272, 279, 302
(The) State and Government in Ancient India, 88, 148, 179, 225, 274
Sthala-Vṛksha, 256, 257
Sthānas, 263
Strabo, 32, 150, 315
Strato-I, 37
Stūpa, 134, 138, 142, 208, 245, 246, 250, 256, 257, 260, 268, 270, 290
Subrahmaṇya, 136
Sudraçae, 150, 151
Ṣudras, 47, 89
Śūdras, 151
Sugh, 279, 302
Su-la-cha, 178
Śulagava, 134, 138
Sult, 273
Sumari, 303
Sunam, 181
Sunet, 80, 99, 129, 130, 302, 303
Ṣunetra, 130
Śuṅga, 47, 73, 151, 282
Sunga-Devas, 281
Ṣura(s), 89, 177
Śūra-Vīra, 71
Suran, 89
Surāṣṭra, 39, 45, 46
Surpa, 21
Sutlej, 72, 74, 76, 86, 89, 90, 91, 128, 129, 176, 181, 229, 230, 273, 277, 278, 279, 280
Sūtras, 31, 35, 138
Suvarṇa, 22, 28, 51
Suvarṇa Dhobaka, 60
Suvarṇagotra, 278
Suvarṇarekhā, 60
Svāmin, 94
Svāmino, 93
Svastika, 122, 134, 140, 238, 254, 259, 262, 289, 290, 291, 297, 303, 307, 308
Svayaṁbara, 65
Svyāparna, 221
Sydra, 150
Sydracae, 151
Syrakusoi, 150
Syrian, 32

T

Taddhita, 218
Taddhitapadā, 220
Taittiriya, 21
Taittiriya Saṁhitā, 22
Talamba, 157
Taleśwara plates, 280
Talimata, 31
Tāmra, 63
Tāmrikā, 23, 24
Tanesar, 96
Tappa Mewa, 302
Tarn, W.W., 32, 268, 270, 284
Tartars, 273
Taxilā, 25, 27, 28, 50, 54, 55, 56, 143, 168, 169, 186, 257
Tche Mang, 234
(The) Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India, 128
Tehsil, 97, 128, 130, 266
Tewār, 179
Thakur, Upendra, 20, 21, 39, 57
Theobald, 303, 305, 306, 309
Thirwall, 151
Thok-jalung, 60
Thomas, 303, 311
Tibet, 59, 60, 279
Tibetan, 60, 84, 85, 280
Tikshaṇa, 63
Tilakhalā, 221, 227
Tin, 58, 61, 63, 109, 132, 213
Tipu Sultan, 18
Tirabhūkti, 170
Tirhut, 170
Tithi(s), 137, 164
Tolephus, 35
Tonk, 179, 205
Towny, C.H., 178
Toynbee, A.J., 68
Traigartha, 222
Trakatajanapada, 274
Transcaucasia, 68
Trapu, 61, 63
Travancore, 224, 284
Tretā, 165
Tri, 74, 85, 126, 127, 130, 144, 316
Tribes in Ancient India, 159, 227
Trigarttas, 66, 68, 148, 149, 153, 176, 181, 231, 272
Trigartta-Saṁgha, 43
Tri-Māśaka, 22
Tṛna, 67
Tripathi, R.S., 155
Tripuri, 54
Triratna, 119, 238, 254, 269, 289
Triśūla, 120, 125, 126, 134, 139, 259, 260, 306, 313
Tritiya, 127, 144
Trogus, 32
Tus, 271
Tuṣāspa, 33, 34
Tuttha, 61
Tutthogata, 61

U

Udaipur, 96, 152, 162, 165, 225
Uddehika(s), 48, 55, 62, 257
Uduṁbara(s), 215-219, 222, 227, 229-231, 234, 235, 238, 256, 257, 258, 267, 268
Udumbarāvatī, 218, 232, 258
Udyogaparva, 66, 69
Ujeniyas, 222, 229
Ujjain, 140, 151, 166, 169, 170, 174, 176, 178, 180, 183, 205, 207, 213
Ujjain-deśa, 178
Ujjayinī, 101, 140, 169, 177, 179
Umā, 38
Umeśa, 38
Uniyara, 205
Upadhyay, B., 50
Upaniṣada, 136
Usavadatta, 152
Uṣṭrāpada, 305
Uṣṭrāpada Kuṇin desu, 305
Utsāhahīna, 171, 212
Uttambhadras, 152, 170

Uttar Pradesh (U.P.), 74, 90, 115, 154, 165, 278, 279, 302

V

Vāchaspatya, 23
Vadanagar, 178
Vāhana(s), 37, 133, 135, 139, 257, 269, 307
Vāhika(s), 44
Vahyzdata, 69
Vaijayantī, 220, 221
Vaimakas, 231
Vaimaki, 265, 267
Vaiśākha, 164
Vaiśālī, 44, 50
Vaiṣṇava, 269, 270
Vaiyamakas, 231, 232
Vajimedhaḥ, 57
(The) Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age, 84, 152, 311
Vallabhī, 153, 175, 178, 179, 213
Vālmīki, 148
Vamakisa, 249, 267
Vamaraja, 194
Vamatha, 47
Vamikasa, 267
Vana, 87, 193
Vanaparva, 124, 137, 163, 176
Vanasya, 122
Varāhamihira, 75, 88, 181, 222, 229, 233, 273, 277, 307
Varāhamihira's Bṛhataṣaṁhitā, 251
Varahran-V, 38
Varṇāśrama-Dharma, 147
Vārttā-Śastropajīvin, 82
Vasana, 21
Vasantgadh, 165
Vasātis, 46, 160, 181
Vaśiṣtha, 20
Vāśudeva, 34, 38, 39, 232, 234, 261, 269
Vāśudeva-I, 90
Vāśudeva-II, 86
Vatsa, 44
Vātsyāyana, 178
Vāyudeva, 257
Vāyupurāṇa, 66, 164, 177, 220, 272
Vedas, 20, 44, 216, 217
Vedic, 20, 21, 22, 28, 43, 61, 67, 183, 221, 225, 314
Vedic Index, 59, 61, 136
Veer, 76
Vemaka(s), 231, 233, 236, 240, 247, 251
Vema Kadaphises, 269
Vemakathphisasa, 269
Vemaki, 234, 250, 265
Vemakisa, 249, 250, 265, 267
Vidagdharāja, 165
Videhas, 44, 45, 153
Vidiśā, 27, 175, 178, 183, 239, 262, 270
Vidyalankar, Jaichandra, 176
Vijaya, 250, 265, 267
Vijayagadh, 162
Vijayaka, 249, 250, 265, 267
Vijayanta, 267
Vijaya-rana, 267
Vijayata, 249, 250, 254, 267
Vijayi, 57
Vijityā, 57
Vikrama, 165, 168
Vikrama-era, 161, 162, 166, 167, 169
Vikrama Kāla, 165
Vikramāditya, 153, 162, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 172
Vikramāditya Commemoration Volume, 161
Vikramāditya Sāgā, 169
Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, 148, 161
Vimakas, 48, 55, 62, 259
Vima Kathphisasatratara, 269
Vimaki(s), 236, 265
Vinayapitaka, 222
Vindhyas, 224
Vira Yasasya, 254
Vīrayasas, 235, 251, 254
Vīrayaśasya, 55
Virgin, 18
Viśākhā, 39, 40, 41, 136, 239, 261

Vishayam, 89
Viṣṇu, 39, 137, 140, 142, 164, 307
Viṣṇudharma, 171
Viṣṇupurāṇa, 66, 71, 89, 177, 218, 272
Viśvāmitra, 215, 217, 227, 235, 240, 241, 242, 248, 249, 256, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 268
Viśpamitra, 242, 248, 249, 264, 268
Vitata, 57
Vitrunius, 255
Volkerwanderung, 164
Vonones, 164, 169, 263
Vrata, 164
Vrātya, 89
Vṛddhi, 267
Vṛji(s), 44, 47
Vṛjikas, 45
Vṛka(s), 43, 274
Vṛṣadhvaja, 224
Vṛṣṇis, 30, 47, 48, 55, 62, 149, 153, 251, 254
Vrishni, 254
Vrisni, 254
Vṛtta, 22
Vṛtti, 146, 221
Vyas, K.B., 163

W

Wagar, 72
Walsh, 27
Weber, 180
Wema Kadphises, 30, 37, 38, 56
West Bengal, 60
Whitehead, R.B., 240, 247, 250, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270
White-iron, 213
Williams, M., 80
Wilson, John, 66, 155, 272
Wilson and Hall, 281
(The) Wonder That Was India, 168

X

Xandrames, 311
Xathroi(s), 45, 46, 153

Y

Yādavaprakāśa, 178
Yajñśrī Śatakarnī, 50
Yak, 303
Yaksha Uṣṭrāpada, 305
Yama, 148, 181, 187, 200, 202, 209
Yan, 117
Yap, 17
Yaśamotika, 39
Yaśastilaka, 75, 86, 147
Yaśodharman, 163, 171, 316
Yātrā, 140
Yaudheyana, 131
Yaudheya(s), 18, 27, 30, 31, 43-49, 55, 62, 64, 65-97, 99-101, 103, 105, 107-111, 113, 115, 117-119, 121, 123, 125, 127-132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139-147, 150, 172, 182, 205, 207, 208, 218, 222, 224, 229, 242, 243, 256, 283, 284, 303, 307, 313, 315, 316
Yaudheya gaṇa, 79, 84
Yaudheya gaṇasya Jayaḥ, 31, 75, 80, 92, 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 144, 315
Yaudheya Janapada, 85, 88
Yaudheyī, 71
(Yau) dheyān(āṁ), 123
Yaudheyānā(ṁ), 55, 93, 103, 107, 108, 129
Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhānakanaṁ, 109, 144
Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhānake, 93
Yaudheyon Kā Itihāsa, 66
Yautiya(s), 68, 69
Yava(s), 164
Yavana(s), 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 153, 176, 270, 278

Yavanānī, 31, 33
Yodha, 65, 71
Yodheya, 71, 92
Yodheyana, 55
Yodheyā(nāṁ), 109
Yo (Yau) dheyānām, 104
Yodheyānām Jaya Maṅtra-dhāranāṁ, 82
Yona(s), 32, 33
Yuan Chwang, 179, 212
Yudh, 108
Yudha, 65, 66
Yudhiṣthira, 65-71, 73, 149, 161, 231, 279
Yugandharāḥ, 221, 227
Yūpa(s), 103, 109, 133, 137, 138, 141, 142, 198

Z

Zamindāra, 232, 234
Zeus, 34, 35
Zinc, 99
Zoilus, 255, 259, 263

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